

NOMADISM OF BAHURUPIAS AND THEIR CHILDREN'S EDUCATION
IN ANDHRA PRADESH

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PREFACE

Social scientists are more concerned about the pattern of change or modernisation that is occurring in traditional societies or poor countries. Change has to penetrate across the social stratification. But change is being drastically delayed. Our goals for achievement are good and but appears to be over ambitious. Changing agents want more inputs (budget, equipment and staff) to carry out development schemes but return with little output. These agents throw the blame on others.

We forget about creating development linkages or integrated development. We are missing priorities in the social and economic change. In India most of the schemes are prepared, implemented and assessed by the politicians and administrators without the help of the social scientists. These schemes dry up on the way. If one scheme cannot succeed, they prepare other schemes at the secretariat tables.

One of the modern inputs for social and economic change is education. Education facility is better utilised by the well-to-do people and males but this facility is quite underutilised by the backward communities and females. In a plural society change has to penetrate through the culture and area-specific communities. But education is a long term input.

One of the backward communities is nomads who move from one place to another place with their portable dwellings for their livelihood. They are part of the Indian cosmopolitan culture. They are little educated. They are busy in searching out places for movement. Their income is of subsistence nature. Their customs and attitudes are different. Nomads are affected by the social and economic change that is spreading after independence of India. Their occupations are losing public support year by year. Meanwhile some of the nomads could settle and become semi-nomads. Then they tried for other (new) occupations. But

these new occupations are unskilled and create hardship in a new setting. On the other hand, they are painful of losing their caste culture and occupations.

In this transition, they need some minimum needs. They need options and motivation to change. India has thirty million nomadic population. Andhra Pradesh has two million nomadic population. The present study is concerned with the nomadism and children's education of Bahurupias (Jangams) of Hyderabad city and its surrounding villages. Jangams are the largest nomadic population in the Andhra Pradesh state. Their caste occupations are begging, entertaining through folk plays and tales, making and selling palm mats and herbal medicines and telling palmistry.

In the present study, education among the Jangams is highlighted through their traditional, transitional and non-traditional occupations. Various related factors that restrict and promote education among them were dealt with. Such study is essential to achieve the goals of "universalisation of elementary education" or "Education For All". Because we have to understand such little known communities and also how this variable 'education' is penetrating their population. This study is useful to prepare and implement education programmes among nomadic communities in Andhra Pradesh and in other areas of India.

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

a) On Children

World Summit for children held at New York (Sept, 1990) had emphasized the nations to focus attention on needs and problems of children - the most neglected section of human society. The most precious resource of the human race is its children. The least influenced are the poor children. The enemies of children are malnutrition, morbidity and disabilities which hamper his potential physical and mental growth. A child's health is very much related to his mother's health and nutritional status since her pregnancy. Many of the child's diseases can be prevented by immunisation and sanitation and hygiene.

In India the infant mortality rate is 83 per 1000 live births and under five mortality rate is 124 per 1000 live births in 1992 (UNICEF, 1994). 33 per cent of total children born have low birth weight (below 2500 gms). Two per cent children have one or the other type of disability.

Such calamity to children can be reduced by higher marriage for women and birth planning, better health and nutrition and immunisation of both mother and child and breast feeding of child. Mother and child need periodical health checkups.

In a poor but developing country, India, the percentage of child population (0-15 yrs) is very high which comes to 40% of the total population. This is due to high population growth. This shows burden on parents and public infrastructure to maintain children. Children are dependents on their parents for livelihood. The dependency ratio increases when chronically ill, disabled and the aged are observed in the families.

One in every three families has working children. This is due

to high poverty of families and are unable to invest on child's education for a long period. A working child has to work for more than 8 hours. They provide cheap but valuable labour which facilitates employers. These children may be illiterates and school dropouts. Majority of them come from the families of weaker sections. Efforts are being made to rehabilitate these children by providing schooling, training and self-employment. The efforts are not always successful.

Not only the quantity of investment on children but also how it reaches children is much more important to note in view of the scarcity of financial resources and barriers in the society.

b) On Education

1) Education as an instrument of social and economic change

After colonial rule India was to initiate and universalise change. It has to modify existing institutions, establish new services and production units. For this purpose India needs modern and specialised education. It has to eradicate^t illiteracy and poverty. In a democratic nation India has to provide equal opportunity to every citizen in education and occupation. So change has to penetrate every social strata.

Education is the most important single factor in achieving economic development and technological progress and in creating a social order founded on the values of freedom, social justice and equal opportunity. Programmes of education lie at the base of the effort to forge the bonds of common citizenship, to harness the energies of the people and to develop the national and human resources of every part of the country (III Five Year Plan).

Education is essential for social and economic integration of a nation. The crucial need of education for the people in various spheres of modern social life has been unanimously recognised. There are economic, political, social, ethical,

cultural and other reasons to impart education (Desai, 1978: 69). Education enables children to acquire literacy and to retain it in adulthood, besides cultivating in them the capacity to acquire skill and develop the right attitude to work and production (Rao, 1966: 60-61).

Education is a major social institution. It is an essential tool for the advancement of mankind. It works as a catalyst for the socio-economic changes in society. Education is a tool for the transmission of the values and accumulated knowledge of society. Education is designed to guide the child in learning culture, moulding his behaviour in the ways of adulthood and guiding him towards his eventual role in society (Ency.Brit.1977).

Every education, whatever means and methods it uses, aims at fitting the growing individual for his special role and position in society so as to elicit the best out of him, and at the same time socialising him, through development of proper habits, attitudes and values, so that he enriches and strengthens the cultural pattern (Mukherjee, 1965).

Education has two important functions, viz. the conservative and creative. In its conservative function education helps us in the transmission of cultural values and socially approved behaviour pattern to the younger member of the society. In its creative function, modern education inculcates new ideas (Bhatnagar, 1972).

Daniel Lerner (1962: 61) had mentioned that education is undoubtedly one of the keys that unlocks the doors to modernisation. It provides one of the most important channels of transition from traditional to modern sectors. Literacy is, therefore, both the index and agent to modernization. Halsey (1970) had emphasized that education has become part of the economic foundations of modern society - a major avenue of social mobility, a central agency of social distribution and consequently an

object of political debate and social policy as urgent and as important as poverty, sickness and unemployment.

Primary education has been considered one of the four basic kinds of investment to reduce poverty, population growth, and environment deterioration (PPE) by the UNICEF, 1994 (p 3-5). Overall, increases in literacy levels and in primary school enrolment have been found to be strongly associated with more rapid increases in per capita incomes and with greater economic activity (UNDP, HDR, 1992: 69).

The economic returns from investments in primary education exceed those of any other kind of investment. Better educated people can participate more fully in the processes of modernisation and development. They are better able to raise their own incomes and contribute to the economic development of their nations. Unless the goal of basic education for all can be reached, millions of people will be denied knowledge, choice and opportunity rendering them less able to make informed decisions about their own futures and less prepared to adapt to the many changes that lie ahead (ibid, UNICEF, 42-43).

Education occupies an important place in most of the plans for economic and social development. Particularly, primary and middle school education plays a very important role in building up the nation, and is a prerequisite of the accomplishment of other development goals. The future needs for trained manpower in any country essentially depend upon the present percentage of enrolment in primary and middle schools.

ii) Education Commission and Policies

Article 45 (part iv) of the Directive Principles of State Policy provides for free and compulsory education for children in India. It states: The state shall endeavor to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of Indian constitution free and compulsory education for children in India until they

complete the age of 14 years.

In 1968, the Government of India formulated the National Policy of Education (Kothari Commission, 1964-66). The recommendations are as follows :

- i) Free and compulsory education for all children upto the age of 14.
- ii) To provide suitable programme to reduce the prevailing wastage and stagnation in schools
- iii) High priority for teachers' education
- iv) To adopt three language formula from the secondary stage
- v) To promote a common school system and national integration
- vi) To promote better relations between the school and the community
- vii) To promote technical and vocational education at secondary level
- viii) Adoption of uniform education structure of 10+2+3
- ix) To allocate 6% of national income for education budget.

Kothari Commission traced the causes of failure to achieve universalisation of education to i) lack of adequate resources , ii) tremendous increase in population, iii) resistance to education of girls, iv) large number of children of the backward classes and v) general poverty of the people and vi) illiteracy and apathy of parents

In 1979 a Draft on National Policy on Education was circulated. This draft was only a modification of the 1968 policy. In this draft great emphasis was given for the education of harijans and girijans and adult education.

In 1985, a new document "Challenge of Education" was prepared by the Ministry of Education, Government of India. This document proposed a new policy on education. This document made a new policy called the "National Education Policy, 1986". This year was also the beginning of the VII Five Year Plan. This policy

laid stress on 10+2+3 structure, national curriculum, removal of disparities and equalising educational opportunities and educational development of harijans, girijans and women.

Great emphasis was given to adult education. Mass media like radio and television were also involved. By this 1986 policy, pace setting schools were established in each district called Navodaya schools. Vocationalisation of secondary education and establishment of District Institutes of Education and Training (DIET) and modernisation of technical education was emphasized.

Adult education programmes are running since many years to increase literacy rates among adults. Since 1986 many new educational programmes were started. They are total literacy campaign (TLC), National Literacy Mission (NLM) to increase literacy among adults, Operation Black Board (OBB) scheme to help appoint some teaching staff, construct school buildings and supply teaching materials. Similarly British Overseas Development Agency (ODA) had financed for some school buildings in Andhra Pradesh.

Universalisation of elementary education was thought to be achieved by 1960. Due to some difficulties in reaching this goal, the goal was postponed to 1990 and later to 1995 and now to 2000 AD. There is a determination by the Education Ministry, Government of India, to reach education for all by 2000 AD. The government is of the opinion to increase the budget from 3.7% of the national income to 6% in 1995. For such purpose The Prime Minister, P.V.N. Rao, proposed to collect education cess to augment education outlays.

Instead of trying to provide good education to all children, or at least to all the able children from every stratum of society, it is available to a small minority (Education Commission, 1968).

National Education Policy, 1986, observes the following

problems Of dropouts in elementary education :

"With such schools and with such teaching and with about 40% of the population living below the poverty line, it is not surprising that the growth rate of enrolment in elementary education is tending to taper off. What is, however, even more disturbing is that a large number of those who enrol dropout very soon. Of the 100 enrolled in class I, only 23 children reach class VIII. The rest show a smattering of literacy or add to the mass of illiteracy in the country. It must be emphasized that the schools where the majority of children study, whether in town or in rural areas are far poorer in facilities, equality and relevance of education. That is one of the reasons, why the dropouts rates in these schools are staggering by higher than in the schools for the elite.

Our position in respect of elementary education even in comparison with the majority of developing countries is highly unsatisfactory. If adequate provisions are not made even now for school facilities, requisite number of teachers, restructuring of the curricula and methods of teaching, we all will be marching into the 21st century with an unacceptably large corpus of illiterate people. The poor will thus stand doubly deprived. The adults will be living at a low level of subsistence while their children will be condemned to a life of ignorance and squalor. Even for those who are now happily placed, the poor and the ignorant will be like mill-stones around their necks (ibid, National Education Policy, 1986).

The much debated document on "Challenge of Education" (Ministry of Edn; Govt. of India, 1985) reiterated the urgency and importance of removal of illiteracy in the country. It emphasized that "if adequate measures are not taken for the spread of education, the chasm of economic disabilities, regional imbalances and social injustice will widen further resulting in building up of disintegrative tensions (p4).

The existing policies and programmes have tried to restructure the vocational institutions and provide some infrastructure. They did not help to increase literacy rates or school enrolment or increase efficiency of the teacher and his work output. They did not prepare any strategy to cover all the illiterates and achieve results at a particular period. The policies had created a financial burden for the education ministry which had also borrowed foreign aid. They had outlined only the lacunae and never tried to eradicate them.

iii) Schooling Problems of Children

Gandhi was pained to see the divorce between the education system in India and the life of people. The widespread ignorance and illiteracy of the masses in India was a challenge to change India (Ramanathan, 1962: 20).

Education is widely viewed as both developing and reflecting individual skills and abilities and is therefore used as a means of social selection. Structural limitations imposed on the schooling of some groups restrict their educational success, thus helping to reproduce the education and social hierarchies. One of the most consistent findings of the research on education and status attainment is that the socio-economic status of the family influences the whole education process (John Katsillis et al 1992).

Education has been considered to be one of the important indicators to estimate poverty among population. Various factors included for this indicator are school enrolment by region, sex and age group and by economic status - social class, quality of public education services and its cost (Dantwala Committee, Planning Commission, 1993).

Poverty of a family is estimated by the availability of food and non-food items to the family members. Food items are calculated by the availability of calories. The non-food items include

housing, health, education, fuel, clothing, safe drinking water and other social services.

World Bank report (1993) has mentioned that 50% of the Indian population live below the poverty line. An annual income of Rs 11,000 per family determines (at present prices) the poverty line. 35% of Indian population live in urban areas. (1991). And 40% of the urban people live in slums. Slum is the migratory residence of rural people. Most of the rural people are poor who constitute agriculture labour, landless, artisans and small farmers. Droughts, floods and sub-normal rain fall give hardships to rural people and their livestock. Rural development programmes did not help increase income of poor people regularly. Thus we see widespread poverty and unemployment in both urban slums and rural areas. This situation has aggravated due to high population growth and inefficient development programmes.

Table 1 Literates (in percentage, ≥ 7 yrs)

	<u>Census year</u>	<u>Persons</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
India	1951	18.3	27.2	8.9
	1991	52.1	63.9	39.4
		(35.92)	(22.95)	(12.97)
A.P. state	1961	21.1	30.0	12.0
	1991	44.1	55.1	32.7
		(2.44)	(1.55)	(0.89)
Kerala	1961	46.8	55.0	38.9
	1991	90.6	94.5	86.9

Figures in brackets indicate literate population in crores.

Source : Census of India

The literacy figures indicate that there is little progress both in India and the A.P. state since independence. There are a few regions which have shown good progress in literacy levels, such as Kerala, Goa and some Northeastern regions. Only one-third of the females are literates. In the Kottayam district of Kerala,

the female literacy is 94%, while in Barmer district of Rajasthan, it is 7.7%. In Bihar and Rajasthan its average figures are below 10%.

Two-thirds of the non-enrolled children are girls and three-fourths of non-enrolled children are in the educationally backward states of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal.

India has the dubious distinction of having the largest number of adult illiterates and out-of-school children in the world - 30% of the world's adult illiterates and 21.9% of out of school kids of the world. Given an annual population increase of 17 to 18 million these numbers will continue to expand. The challenge is not just to enrol children but to keep them in school. 60% of the out-of-school children are girls and 62% of the illiterate adults are women (Usha Rai, 1993).

Despite 46 years of independence, the nation is still lagging behind by 33 years as far as the target of universalisation of primary education is concerned. And this target is postponed to 2000 AD. Though there is a manifold increase in the infrastructural facilities, the goal of providing the basic education to all has remained elusive.

Parents consider daughters as would be migrants to their husbands' houses after marriage. So investment for them is not fruitful. But investment for sons is considered to be fruitful as they reside with and look after parents. Because males are considered to be main earning members of the family, they need better education and good job. Sons inherit and own property. Some say girls are regarded as second class citizens and so little schooling is sufficient for them.

How can girls do jobs ? Their would-be husbands may be different. Many girls had discontinued education and even stopped doing jobs after marriage. So why higher education for them ?

Even highly educated and job holding women need much dowry for their marriages. Why should they roam around streets lonely or distant places for education and jobs ? Such things are harmful for unmarried girls. But attitudes of all parents are not of same nature. There are parents who dedicate for the education and employment of their daughters.

The educational development of a country is widely connected to all other aspects of development and the education situation in a given period is an inseparable part of the general socio-economic situation in that period. The spread of literacy and education is much more in evidence among the more affluent and socially advanced sections of society than among the poorer and more backward sections. It is well known that there is considerable wastage and stagnation, especially, at the primary stage (Kamat,1972)

Table 2 Illiterates (1991 census, ≥ 7 yrs)

	<u>Persons</u>	<u>male</u>	<u>female</u>
India	33.67	13.24	20.43
A.P. State	3.10	1.26	1.84

Figures are in crores

Saroj (1970) had pointed out that in rural West Bengal the education of backward castes did not improve. School registration of children is an indicator of future literacy rate in population. She has suggested mid-day meals, free learning materials, emphasis on women's education and special literacy drives.

Karuna Ahmed (1979) has mentioned that change in or through the education system is not possible without prior changes in the social structure. In a stratified society, the education system does not allow the poor class to enter it. Most surveys by sociologists have brought out the point, rather forcefully, that a majority of students in our country are from the upper and middle strata of the society. The entire education system has been oriented to meet the requirements of the top one-third of the population, the well-to-do sections and the upper and middle

classes in urban and rural areas. The interests of the poor, constituting the lower one-third of the population have by and large been ignored. Students from under-privileged groups tend to attend inferior or less prestigious institutions (op.cit. Karuna Ahmed).

The present education system is class based as it mainly laid emphasis on higher education, which benefits the 'haves' rather than the 'have-nots' (Naik, 1975; Desai, 1975; and Sateswari, 1979). Illiterate and poor parents have little interest and give little guidance to their children in schooling and tuition (Suma chitnis, 1978; Gopal Rao, 1987; Sita Topp, 1979; Shyamlal, 1987).

The official school enrolment statistics bear little relation to actual attendance of students in the classrooms (John Kurien, 1981). Some of the priority areas of research in education identified in the national seminar on "education and rural development" are

- a) effects of education on migration and rural economy
 - b) relationship between education and vocation and
 - c) effects of education on inter and intra-caste inequalities and inter-class inequalities
- (Indian Institute of Education, Pune, 1982).

Most of the illiterates and school dropouts constitute females, girijans, harijans, working children and the poor (Mohuya Chaudhuri, 1993; Lakdawala, 1982; Girja Sharan, 1982; Poromesh Acharya, 1982; Nautiyal, 1989; Shyamlal, 1987; Shukla, 1971; Goel and Gaini, 1972).

Some problems in primary education are admission of under-age and overage children, treatment of their children at school as fringe pupils, who are not entitled to education and whom education did not fit as a proper role in their stations (Lakdawala, 1982).

For all its earnestness, it is doubtful if the government will make a real dent in basic education. With the existing system of government schools and teachers with no accountability, learning

will continue to be dull and uninspiring and will continue to dropout. A new education system is needed where teachers are forced to perform - they could be employed on contracts of 3 to 6 years and their performance watched for re-employment. But the teachers unions are too powerful to allow that. Most parents are so conscious of the need for education that they are willing to pay for decent education. There should be a real political commitment to basic education (Usha Rai, 1993).

According to the Fifth All India Education Survey (1986) enrolment and dropouts were found as follows :

Table 3 Enrolment and dropouts (%)
in primary schools

	enrolment		dropouts		year of study
	girls	boys	girls	boys	
India - -	83.0	109.0	49.7	46.7	1986
A.P. state	72.3	93.9	54.0	51.2	1992-'93
Hyd. Dist.	77.4	71.4	22.3	19.9	"
R.R. Dist.	63.1	90.2	56.9	60.7	"

Table 4 School dropouts in Basic Education -Reasons

Dropout reasons	Nsso(1989)		Sudershanam 1991 rural
	Rural	Urban	
1. Not interested in education	26.3	25.6	-
2. Household economic activity	19.2	16.3	40.4
3. Other economic reasons	-	17.1	22.6
4. Domestic chores	-	5.5	7.8
5. Failure in examinations	-	16.3	20.3
6. Early marriage	-	-	-
7. Beating of teacher	-	-	-
8. Others	-	15.6	9.5

According to survey there is a large improvement in school enrolment in both girls and boys but dropouts is very much worrying (table 3). Economic reasons for dropouts ranges from 36% to 58% followed by the lack of interest of the parents and children.

Desai et al (1976) have mentioned that Ashramasala education for tribal children in Gujarat is a high cost process in terms of

high investment and low enrolment. So it cannot be a permanent feature of the tribal education system. The prevailing poverty of local tribals and their general lack of interest in formal education make this high cost process an imperative need to attract tribal children to the school.

Vimal and Patel (1985) have found that increase in literacy of scheduled caste is higher than that of scheduled tribal literacy rate. The literacy rate among the urban tribals is higher than among the rural tribals. Similar findings were made by Karuna Ahmed (1979). He had mentioned that despite the phenomenal quantitative expansion of education in the post-independence period there are serious lapses. The extent of benefits of education programme differs according to the location (rural-urban), sex and socio-economic status. In the hierarchy of education achievement, the non-scheduled caste are at the top and the scheduled caste are in the middle and the tribals are in the bottom category.

The basic reason for the non-retention of a pupil in a school is the poverty of the parents. It is no accident that the national dropout rate is above 60% and the national poverty level is also about that (Malcom Adiseshaiah, 1986). Moonis and Aggrawal (1986) have concluded that any generalised all-India formula of incentives will not yield the desired results, as the problems of inequalities are deeply rooted in the regional sub-system of inter-dependencies. The results of UNESCO study (1978) have revealed that in India, the literacy rate is likely to increase to about 55% only by 2000 AD and that the overall gap in the literacy rates of male and female would fall only marginally (ibid, Moonis et al).

Illiteracy is primarily a political issue and socio-cultural phenomena. After several decades of international attention and investment, the adult illiteracy rates of most developing countries are now relatively stable at roughly 35-55% in Africa and Asia. Population growth has meant that the actual number of illiterates

has actually grown dramatically (Daniel Wagner, 1987).

At the Education For All (EFA) Summit held at New Delhi in December, 1993, a paper by UNFPA has mentioned that the countries which allocated substantial resources to female literacy education experienced higher economic productivity, lower fertility rates, lower infant and maternal mortality and improved levels of life expectancy for both men and women, compared to countries which did otherwise.

Education is literally denied to the children of the poor who are required to work and cannot attend school as a whole-time basis. The entire education system is heavily oriented to an urban middle class culture. The real and largest beneficiaries of this education system are, therefore, not the underprivileged groups but the more well-to-do sections of society. What is needed is a vigorous or even an aggressive programme of positive discrimination in favour of the weaker sections of the society. At the elementary stage, the existing system should be drastically transformed by permitting lateral multiple entries and part-time education for those who are compelled to work. So special justice has to be emphasized and special programmes have to be developed for the education of girls, harijans, girijans and other weaker sections of the society (Nurul Hasan, 1977: P VII, 302-305).

Blaug (1985) has mentioned that universal literacy may not have important economic outcomes. Neither years of schooling nor specific literacy rates have any direct effect on economic growth.

Naik (1975 b) had made the following suggestions to reduce illiteracy and dropouts :

1. Multiple point entry system : to admit children into classes based on age
2. Failed students to be promoted
3. Part-time education to suit the convenience of working children
4. To utilise services of part-time local teachers

Kistaiah et al (1981) have mentioned that the reasons for dropouts in the A.P. state are: poverty, illiteracy of parents, child labour, child marriages, lack of facilities in schools and incentives.

Sudarshanam (1991) had pointed out that a majority of teachers do not stay in the villages where they are working. The village elite and better off sections have not been evincing much interest in improving educational institutions in the villages. Most of the well-to-do children study in the private schools of nearby towns and cities. The inefficiency and unpopularity of government schools is giving rise to private schools even in the rural areas. The poor children cannot attend the private schools as they are expensive (ibid, Sudarshanam).

In his summary statement, Sudarshanam (1991:184) had brought forth some more information from Warangal schools survey. The teachers expressed the problems of promotion, housing, transfers, appointment regulation, retirement, etc. And the mid.day meal scheme was implemented irregularly and this scheme put burden on the teaching staff. Only 50% of the children of school going age were in the schools and the rest of them were outside the school system. On the other hand teachers were blamed by the villagers for not staying at the villages, not showing interest in teaching and not meeting with parents (P 137 and 141).

School feeding programmes do not make substantial differences to retain children at school or to their school achievements (Prodipto Roy and Rath, 1971).

There is equality of provision for education. But the economic nature of people made school into agencies that are unequally equipped. Massive inequality is generated in modern society when there is considerable difference in the quantity and quality of schooling between rural and urban areas, among regions of a country, and among the neighborhoods and suburbs of the metropolis (Burton, 1968).

The principal elements of successful strategies for universalisation of primary education at an affordable cost appear to be : the use of para-teachers in pre-schools and primary schools; short teacher training periods; regular support and supervision of teacher performance; small school units close to the communities served; low capital costs of school buildings; active involvement of communities and parents; relevant basic curricula presented in an interesting way; school calendars and timetables that take into account the seasonal demands for children to help in agriculture and support of local NGOs (UNICEF, 1994: 45).

Naik (1965: 22) had mentioned that at the elementary stages, the weaker sections of the community will get very little benefit. It appears that the equality of education opportunity provided at the secondary stage is far less than that at the elementary stage.

Mohuya Chowdhuri (1993) had pointed out some problems in the primary education : failure of non-formal education and higher the teacher-student ratio higher the burden on teachers. Anklesaria (1993) had mentioned that Indian teachers are highly unionised, can neglect their duties, and are not sensitive to local needs or amenable to local control. The percentage of expenditure on elementary education is 25% only.

Shukla (1971) had criticised our class-oriented education system. He says that at the point of planning policy, greatest stress is laid on universal mass education, education of women, rural areas, harijans and girijans. At the point of actual execution, highest achievements are all in the field of urban education, secondary and college education, men's education, upper caste and so on. The policywise priority section, including adult literacy, fall much behind target.

Sood (1993) was worried about the contribution of education

research at the school level both in educating the learner and administration of the system. Perhaps, the findings of education research have not filtered to the school level. So the teachers and the system are continuing with the conventional methods of learning, teaching and administration.

Efforts at promoting women's education have not brought substantial results. It is observed that not only had the country failed to eradicate illiteracy among women but the number of women illiterates and their proportion amongst total illiterates had, in fact, increased during the decades after independence. The major section of children not at schools consist of girls. The education system had not succeeded in achieving a major breakthrough in regard to change in social and economic development. Instead, our education system had helped to strengthen and perpetuate the traditional ideas of women's subordination (Towards Equality, 1974).

IV. On the Issues of Tribal Education

<u>Authors</u>	<u>Findings</u>
a) N.K. Ambasht (1970) Bihar, Ranchi	- Christian missionaries helping for tribal education <u>Wastage reasons :</u> distance of school; economic reasons; toughness of syllabus; different medium of instruction
b) Desai, B.M. et al 1976 Gujarat	- Ashrams are costly in terms of low enrolment
c) Sita Toppo, 1979 Ranchi, Bihar	- Christian missionaries helping for tribal education; tribals showed more dropouts & stagnation than non-tribal children <u>Dropouts - reasons & suggestions</u> - lack of encouragement by parents; parents are illiterate; lack of follow-up of teachers; children absent during harvest season & festivals; medium of instruction is different;

<u>Authors</u>	<u>Findings</u>
	-distant schooling; no hostel accommodation; no incentives; discouragement by non-tribal teachers
d) Vimal P. Shah & Tara Patel 1985 Gujarat	- Literacy rate of harijans higher than that of girijans; literacy rate among the urban tribals higher than among the rural tribals
e) N. Gopal Rao 1987 Andhra Pradesh	- Adult education programme not successful; so essential to concentrate on children's education; little supervision on the functions of teachers; parents have no interest on school functioning; teachers not having knowledge of tribal culture
f) Shyamlal, 1987 Bhils of Rajasthan	- higher socio-economic status higher enrolment; less girls enrolment; large families more enrolment
	<u>Reasons for poor enrolment & absenteeism</u>
	- poverty; lack of interest among parents & children; bad health of children; work at home
g) M.V. Venkata Reddy, 1990 Andhra Pradesh	- A.P. tribal literacy rate is less than other South Indian states; female tribal literacy still worse; tribal literacy is lower than that of harijans & other communities; proposed separate schools for girls
h) G. Lachaiiah, 1990 A.P. Banajras of Karimnagar	- parents are interested to educate their children
i) Shyma Nand Singh, 1991 Gujarat	- incentives produced growth of enrolment; need attendance incentives for tribal girls; absence of awareness in remote tribal villages about incentives; delay in disbursement of incentives; low school enrolment and high dropouts
j) Dominic Bara & R. Bhangra & B. Minz, 1991 Bihar, Ranchi	- Christian schools helping for girls enrolment

V. School and Community :

Many of the basic skills we depend on in our daily lives were acquired in school. It is difficult to imagine our society without schools.

The relationship between school and community promotes democracy. The community school uses the community as lab for learning. school cannot be realistic if it is confined to the four walls of the class room, library, shop or lab. Pupil-teacher planning means co-operative planning (Edward, 1961:15x 141). The education of the whole child in his total environment is and must remain a community function (p 445). The essentials of community learning are : 1. community materials, 2. resource people, 3. field trips, 4. school camping, 5. surveys, 6. work experience, and 7. community service.

The paths of social mobility run through the school. Massive inequality is generated in modern society when there is considerable difference in the quantity and quality of schooling between rural and urban areas. (Burton, 1968: 509).

One of the most significant ideas underlying basic education is, to make the school an integral part of the community life. The school has been long kept isolated from the society to its own detriment. By and large, people seem to have developed an attitude of apathy, if not hostility, towards basic education. This may be due to the very nature of the social system prevailing in the country rather than to any defect inherent in basic education itself (The Indian Year Book of Education, 1964, NCERT, 314-315).

Teacher needs skills to face cultural pluralistic classroom. He has to get such social scientific knowledge. The problem presented by the education of the culturally different children remains very much an issue in the society. Those children show under-achievement, alienation and withdrawal problems. So teachers

have to understand the cultural background of the different communities (James and Donald, 1971). Much would seem to depend on political leadership which can ensure mass participation in education programmes at the community level (Raymond, 1975).

Colclough and Hallak (1975) have made some painful remarks on rural education: The prospects for a rapid movement towards universalisation of primary education throughout the developing world, however, are not good. Work completed by UNESCO suggests that the number of children in the 5-14 age group who never attend school or who drop out before completion is likely to increase by as much as 30% during the next ten years. In the developing countries, expenditure on education benefits a minority population. Economic growth is also at worst misleading. There is stagnation in rural economic growth and agricultural production. The employment of the majority labour force is not organised.

There are four factors on student outcomes (Brookover, 1979) :

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Family background | 2. Student's status in life |
| 3. Social compositions | 4. School climate |

Our educational problems cannot be resolved *sui generis*, that is, in the context of education institutions alone (Satish Saberwal, 1972). So the existing education establishments are part of a larger institutional system (Gunnar Myrdal, 1968: 1649). For radical reconstruction of education and transformation of the education system requires an analysis of the major postulates of the social system (National Education Policy, 1968).

George (1963) had dwelt upon much on the school and community. The interdependence of education systems, teachers, cultural norms and their process is essential (pi). The role of the school administrator is conceived as a function of the formal organisation of the school system, the expectations of various groups in the community, the history of changes in the community, his interaction with the staff, and the personality of the administrator. There

is need to use cross-cultural data in dealing with students (ibid, George, p 11).

The school is concerned with the transmission, conservation and extension of culture. Culture is idealized in the educative process. The school is not the only educative agency. The family, church, young peoples organisations and the media of mass communication - all play important roles in the education of the child. Education involves the changing of behaviour in a desirable direction. The school is an educational institution specifically established to produce desirable changes in behaviour (James in George, 1963: 50). Due to low attendance, high dropout and wastage, school is not adequately serving the children of the community (Georges, 1963).

Despite the signs of separateness, we are becoming increasingly aware that a school's surroundings, the local society in which it is set and whose children it educates play an important part in determining what actually goes on in the classrooms and the playgrounds (John Eggleton, 1967: 1,6). The response of schools to social environment depends on the political leaders, groupings of people, catchment area and the teacher (ibid, John Eggleton).

The teachers have to make a drastic mental readjustment to be able to deal sympathetically with the people whose attitudes and standards are so different. The teachers in the school find themselves at the nexus of two distant cultures with a correspondingly difficult role to play. The hostility and low attainment of the pupils are seen to spring not only from the culture of the twilight area but also from the culturally based responses of the teachers to it (ibid, John Eggleton, 1967: 18).

VI On The Western Side

American education policy could not penetrate through different social and cultural strata because of cultural pluralism of the society (Mitzel, 1982: EER, 397).

There is task of educating minority groups, disadvantaged, working class, and low income group children. The schools in American cities have not performed the very difficult task of bringing all ethnic minority and lower class children upto the national average (Robert, 1972).

In the USA, the elementary school principal has great responsibility in the administration of school. He has to take into account American civilization, business, industry, economic, political forces, democratic leadership and public opinion to improve curriculum and teacher. The authors pleaded for better creation of school-community relationships such that pupil can learn more about his living environment outside the school so as to suit the learning program better to children's needs (Willard and Harold, 1987).

Harry and Roger (1970) wrote about the problems of black children in the USA. The shifts in occupational opportunities, the great migration from farm to city and rising anger of black Americans at their inequitable position resulted not only in a massive retardation among the school children of the central city slums but made the effect impossible to ignore (p 3).

It is essential to implement projects to eradicate poverty of slums. Urban crisis stems from the presence of slums and racism, shortage of housing and transportation, presence of pollution, crime, violence, rebellious youth, public immorality, delinquency and less facilities for schools (ibid, Harry and Roger, p 95).

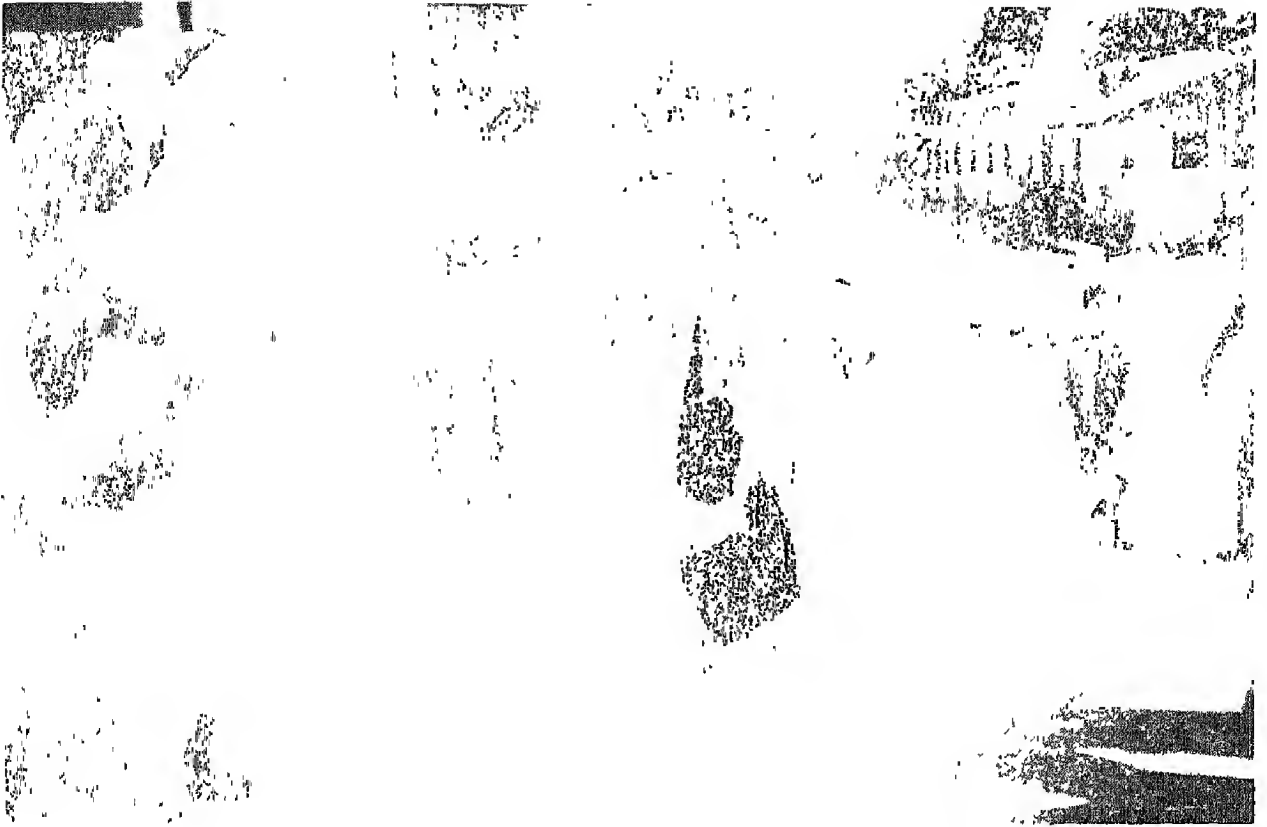
VII The Present Study :

Nomads move from one place to another place with their portable dwellings to eke out their livelihood. In India there are nearly thirty million nomadic population. There are also some scheduled tribes and scheduled castes among them. In the Andhra Pradesh state there are two million nomadic population

who are at different stages of nomadic stages - nomadic, semi-nomadic and settled life. Most of them belong to backward classes. Additionally there are other communities who had migrated to Andhra Pradesh from other states of India. Nomadic communities are not only marginal to the academic interest but also marginal to the development programmes. The nomadic people, like all other weaker sections of the population are under tremendous pressure of poverty syndrome.

A description of nomads is made before introducing nomadic Bahurupias (Jangams). Nomadism is as old as history of mankind. In every part of India there are nomads. They go to villages, towns and cities. Now many nomads have their permanent homes in their locations. They move out in regular frequency to different places leaving women, children and the aged at their homes. But it is not the case always. Sometimes all or part of the family moves out. They became semi-nomads when built up homes and settle. So they move out part of the year, near by villages and towns. for a short period. Some make daily trips. Usually they move in the same villages or area because they develop familiarity with the local people. There are many types of nomads based on their services and livelihood. They are: 1. food gathering and hunting nomads, 2. pastoral nomads, 3, trading nomads, 4. beggars and entertainers and 5. criminal nomads (Raghavaiah, 1968).

Nomads represent an important part in the Indian culture. From time immemorial nomadic tribes have been described as "born tourists". Nomads occupy a place in the social, economic and ritual network and are referred to as travelling specialists who provide services of various kinds in the villages and towns where such specialists are lacking (Singer in Misra, 1971). Bose (1956) while describing about gariya lohar, Brass workers, Lambadi, Madari, Birhar, Sabakhia and other nomads mentioned that they do so as they do not find permanent patronage in one single village



BALASANTHU BEGGING AT A HOME



BALLAD SINGERS RECEIVING ALMS

they are converted into wandering groups forming a complement to the local people. Lewis (1961) observes that in the Indian country side, there is a rural cosmopolitanism which is built up partly by the network of caste and kin ties and partly by the travelling specialists.

Nomads have caste systems, occupational specialisations and endogamy (Hayden and Malhotra, 1977 and Fisher, 1981). Drought, crop failure, floods and changes in other parts of society produced much strain on their traditional occupations. Misra (1965) mentioned that as rural society is changing fast, nomadism affects adversely. Misra (1992) mentioned that an overwhelming number of people favour sedentarisation as spatially mobile life has become more challenging, difficult and hazardous.

Several states have nomadic communities classified as scheduled tribes, or scheduled castes or backward classes. Groups of families belonging to these communities move from place to place practising their traditional livelihood. Some examples of such livelihood are :

1. Begging, rendition of folk arts, singing devotional songs and giving street performances
2. Making and selling agricultural or household implements, blacksmiths, carpentry, dispensing herbal medicines, etc.

Whatever they do, their existence is precarious. The support of rural communities is uncertain and their traditional skills have little value in urban environments. They often have no permanent homes and no land. They are often known to the police as habitual criminals and are harassed by the law enforcement machinery for that reason (VIII Five Year Plan : 1989: 45).

Even skilled artisans among them can at best find employment as wage labour in urban areas. On account of their nomadic life, their children have no access to education and the entire community has little access to civic services.

The working group recommended that research be undertaken into their way of life, for identifying developmental packages suitable to them pending that, two steps could be taken immediately (ibid, VIII FYP, 1989: 45) :

1. Enrolment of groups of children belonging to these communities in residential schools. If necessary, separate residential schools may be established for this purpose and
2. Issue of special ration cards enabling drawal of essential commodities anywhere within the usual areas of migration.

There are a few nomadic tribes in India. Their main problem, as in any other country, is that they have no permanent home and that they roam about in the country in search of livelihood. Their children have to move with the parents and cannot, therefore, attend schools (Indian Year Book of Education, 1964, NCERT : 193).

Very little has been done for these people during the pre-independence period. But now some attention is being paid to solve their problems. Efforts are directed mainly to their settlement in fixed localities as this basic approach would solve all problems of education. However, the process is difficult and slow and hence mobile schools are being established, as a transitional measure (ibid, IYBE, 1964).

Bahurupias go to other states from Rajasthan. Young people do not like their plays because it involves moving places and get less money. These people are worried as the public have no interest on their plays. Their young children have interest on their caste occupations. So their elders are afraid of degeneration of their occupations and culture. They pleaded for government support to support their traditions (DD Programme on Bahurupia, 1994, 7th Feb).

Bahurupias : Bahurupias belong to the category of beggar and entertaining nomads. They belong to Backward class-A category of the Andhra Pradesh state government. They beg and entertain people by street plays both in daytime and nighttime, sing songs and tell stories which belong to Hindu epics and local origin. They also sell herbal medicines and other folk medicines. Their women weave palm mats. Some men go for hunting and some tell palmistry.

Thurston and Raghavachari (1909) while describing about these people from the Kurnool of Andhra Pradesh reported them as ballad reciters but did not mention about their nomadism and interaction with other people. Russel and Hiralal (1916) while describing Bahurupias of northern India of Gujarat and Maharashtra mentioned them as small class of mendicant actors and quick change artists. Their men are story-tellers and play mimics, imitating the voice of different men and the notes of animals. Their male children are also trained to dance.

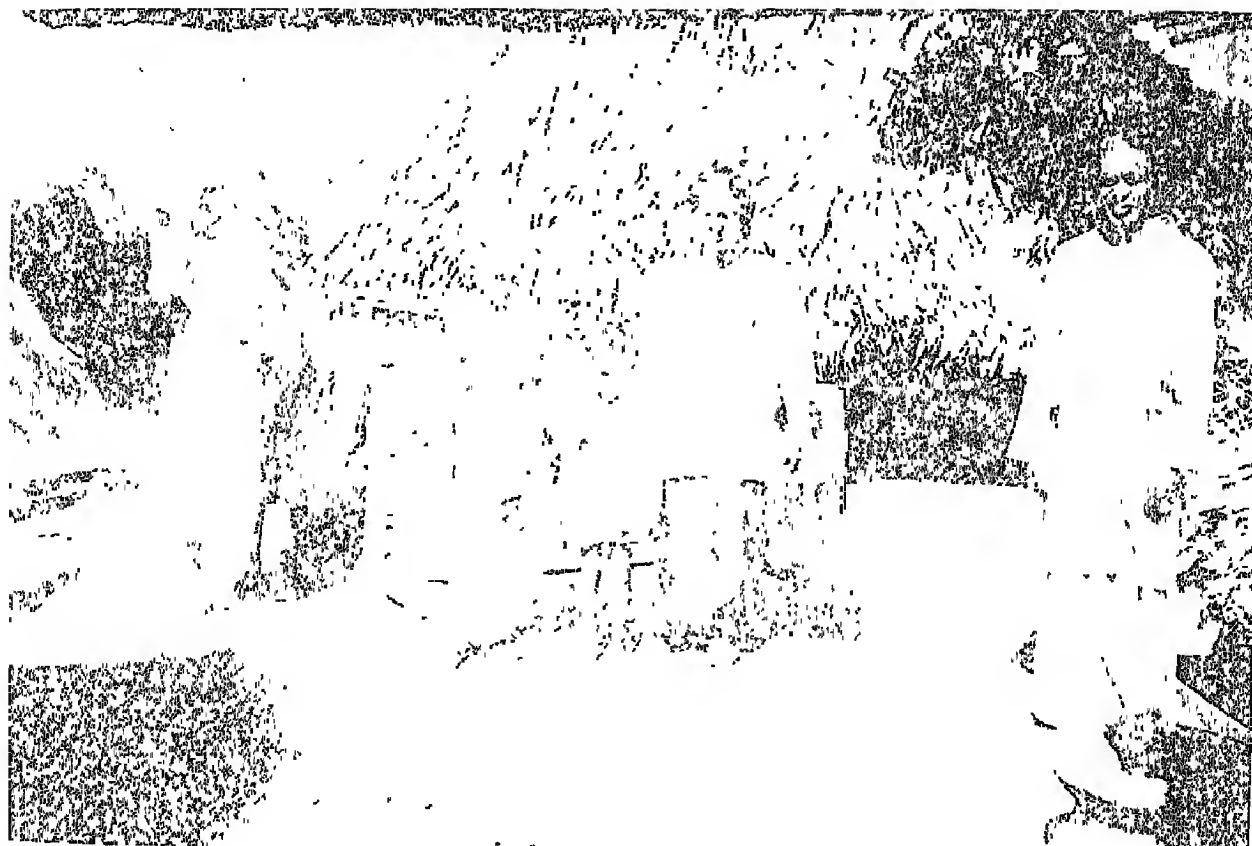
Bahurupias are cited in the report of the Backward Classes Commission (Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, 1970, p 167). The Commission says that they are called as Balasanthu. It reports they are a community of beggars found mostly in Telangana districts. They go for begging in the morning and return home in the evening. Some beg by playing street dramas and by reciting poems. On account of their inferior profession and poverty they are looked down in society. The Commission states, further, that having regard to their inferior status in the society and their educational backwardness, the Commission considers this community as socially and economically backward.

Bahurupias move out during December-March, at the time of crop harvesting period. Some move for a long time of nine months, from June to February. While moving they may also take along with them their family members. Some of the families have farm land.

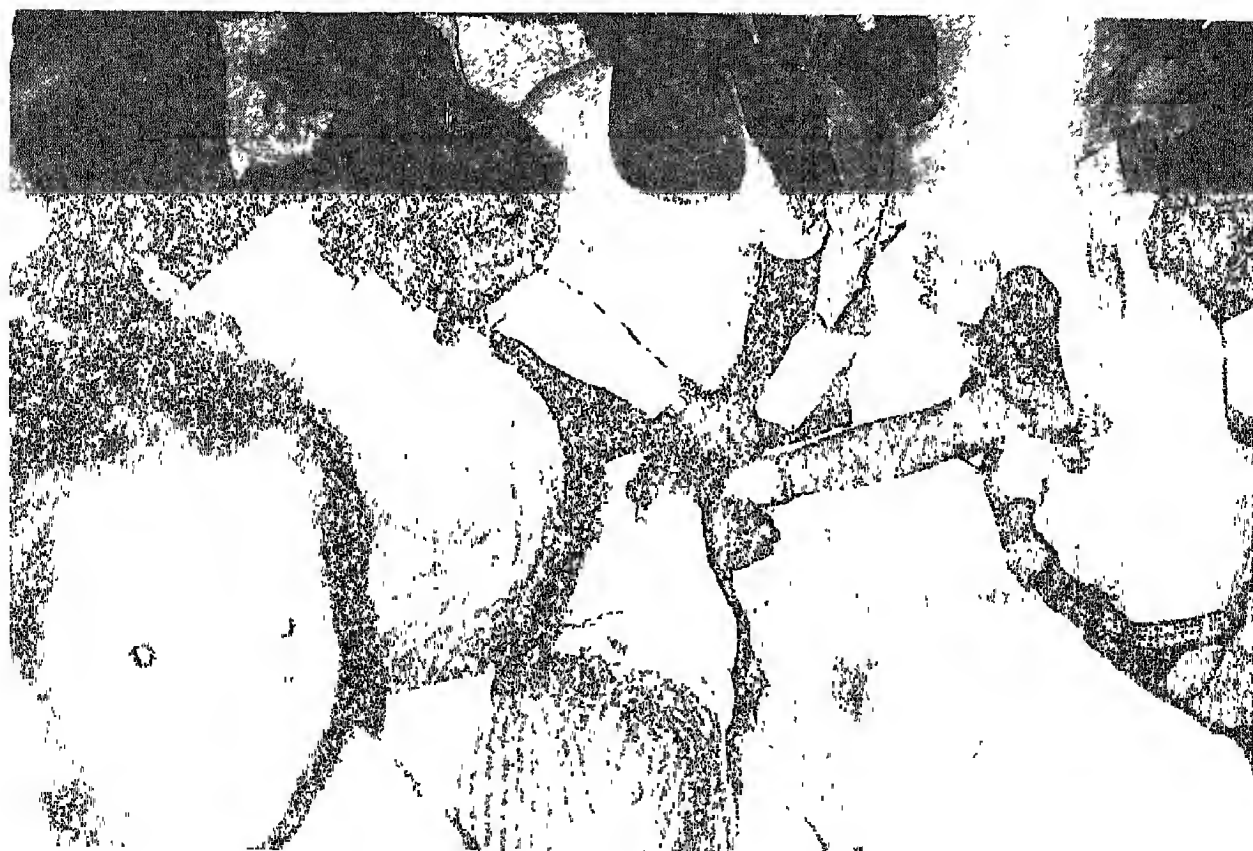
Their land holdings ranges 1 to 3 acres. Very few have irrigated land. They give the land for share cropping. Many times they leave the land uncultivated as small holdings are uneconomical. As they move out they cannot cultivate the land.

Some of the Bahurupias changed their traditional occupations in both rural and urban areas. In the rural areas, they do agriculture and agricultural labour, usually. In the urban places they sell steel articles for old clothes. These old clothes are sold out again. And they repair plastic articles and umbrellas. They go for construction labour and sell vegetables. Still many of them continue their traditional occupations as subsidiary.

In Andhra Pradesh, studies on harijans and girijans are being done. Much attention has been made on their children's education also. But studies on children's education of nomadic communities is rarely done. So a study on the children's education of Bahurupias is taken. Bahurupias constitute the largest nomadic community in Andhra Pradesh. There is more than one million Bahurupia population in this state. Bahurupias are also called as Jangams (religious beggars), Balasanthu (who make children happy), Pagativeshagallu (daytime players), Budga Jangam, Bikshapollu (beggars), Saradakandru (play with 'sarada' music instrument).



A CHILD IN BALA KRISHNA ROLE, NOW GOES TO STREETS
ALONG WITH HIS FATHER TO SING SONGS (DAY TIME
STREET PLAYERS)



MARRIAGE OF A BALASANTHU

CHAPTER II METHODOLOGY

AREA : The data for the study was collected from the Hyderabad city slums and Ranga Reddy district villages. In 1978 Hyderabad district was divided into Hyderabad district (city area consisting Hyderabad and Secunderabad cities) and Ranga Reddy districts (rural Hyderabad) districts. Hyderabad city is the administrative headquarters for the Andhra Pradesh state. Now this city is a business, educational, industrial and cultural centre. Muslims dominate old city of Hyderabad who are the first settlers of Hyderabad (Viswanadham, 1986: 75-79). Ranga Reddy district encircles the Hyderabad district which ranges a distance of 30 to 130 kms from the Hyderabad district.

Hyderabad city contains a large numbers of natural areas which formed on the basis of caste, class, occupation or religion. The population of Hyderabad city is 30.91 lakhs (1991). The growth rate of population between 1981-'91 is 3.7 per year. The population density of Hyderabad city per square kilometer is 14,250. In a poor country like ours, Indian cities are dominated by poor population with poor industrial growth and business activity. The products of industries of Hyderabad meet mostly local needs. 20% of the industries are in loss. Almost all public sector industries are in loss. Thus we can say Hyderabad city is a preindustrial city.

Since many decades Hyderabad Municipal Corporation is facing political and administrative uncertainty. So this city has to starve of funds to implement developmental activities of the city and its suburbs. There are more than 400 slums and underdeveloped areas in the city.

Ranga Reddy district encircles the Hyderabad district which which ranges a distance of 30 to 130 kms from the Hyderabad city.

Objectives of the Study :

The objectives of the present study are

- a) To know various aspects of nomadic culture of Bahurupias
- b) To know the attitudes of parents to educate their children
- c) To know the schooling aspects of children, i.e. schooling, wastage, stagnation and the reasons thereof
- d) To suggest measures to increase school enrolment and improve education of children of Bahurupia nomads

Sampling Procedure :

Two slums and five villages were selected to collect data for this study. The families in these areas were enumerated. Out of these houses children and parents are selected by systematic sampling. In the same places school teachers were interviewed (Fischer and Yates, 1963).

Table 5 Data collection places

slums of Hyderabad city	No. of families	villages of R.R. district	No. of families
1. Jangamettu	104	a) Boduppall	85
2. Indira Nagar	32	b) Shamshabad	56
		c) Yadgarpalli	32
		d) Sivarampalli	36
		e) Matya Bolaram	16
Total :	<u>136</u>		<u>225</u>

Table 6 Types and number of schedules

Type of schedules	Data collected		
	slum(2)	villages(5)	Total
1. Enumeration of houses	136	225	361
2. School teachers - -	7	7	14
3. School dropouts - -	5	15	20
4. Stagnated students - -	3	7	10
5. Regular school children -	5	10	15
6. Parents - - -	10	11	21
7. Absenteeism - - -	5	5	10

Investigation was carried out to collect the information with the carefully prepared schedules which have been pretested.

Definition of terms :

1. Wastage :

a) Stagnation : Grade/ class repetition, which refers to pupils who are held back in the same grade/ class and follow the same syllabus as in the previous year.

b) Dropout : Withdrawal of student from a school cycle before its completion.

2. Absenteeism : A student is an absentee when he attends classes less than 80% of the school working days. The total school working days for an academic year are about 220. A student absentee has to produce documents to the school management to justify his absence from the school.

3. Urbanisation : It refers to a set of specialized, non- agricultural that are characteristic of, but not exclusive to, city or town dwellers.

4. Slums : A sub-standard structure of housing with overcrowding, lack of ventilation, zero or near zero sanitary facilities, all conspiring to promote slum life which defied health and morals. Slums are inhabited by poor rural immigrants. Most of them are illiterate, just literate with no skills. They do low income jobs.

CHAPTER III SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF RESPONDENTS

The social and economic background of respondents gives us base to understand their occupational and earning capacity. By this we can assume their children's progress in education.

i) Age and sex of respondents :

The total number of Bahurupia respondents interviewed for the study was 361 (136 from slums and 225 from villages). In slums, 129 men and 7 women household heads were covered (Table 7). Among villages 208 men and 17 women household heads were covered. Among slums 64% of respondents are between 31 and 50 years age. At higher ages (years 51 and above) less number of respondents were observed (14.0%). But in the villages, a quarter of respondents (26%) are seen in the age of above 51 years.

ii) Ownership and type of housing

The A.P. state government had given one-fifth of the slum housing plots and half of the village housing plots (Table 8). Half of the housing sites of slums are encroached. In the urban area as the housing land is very costly, Bahurupias, unable to own the land, put up huts on others land (government and private land). In the villages 29.8% of the houses of the respondents own houses free of cost. In the villages there seems to be no problem of housing sites for the Jangams.

Regarding type of housing, more than half of houses of both slums and villages have pucca houses (Table 9). In slums of Jangamettu, some families have also pucca houses on the encroached municipal land. A house is considered to be a pucca when its roof is covered with stone slabs, reinforced concrete cement, asbestos cement sheets, Zinc coated sheets or tiles. and its wall is made of bricks or stones.

iii) Ration cards

More than half of them have ration cards in both slums and villages (Table 10). Remaining of them were not given cards when they were away from houses at the time of issue of fresh or renewal of ration cards or lapsed due to not utilising cards. But they are not worried about them as they depend on low-cost food grain and on alms by begging. However, efforts are put by them to get ration cards, but in vain.

iv) Occupations

Traditional people are those respondents who completely depend on their caste occupations such as making mats, begging, performing folk plays, telling tales (ballads) and palmistry, selling herbal medicines and hunting. Traditional and non-traditional respondents (transitional) are those who practice both types of occupations. Types of non-traditional occupations have been mentioned (table 13). Among non-caste occupations, people who work in agriculture will be high in number in villages and those who work in non-agricultural work will be in high number in urban areas. Due to non-availability of traditional work and not favouring such occupations some have changed to non-caste jobs such as non-agricultural labour, whether such work is unusual, light or hard manual work. If any work is not suitable or available they go for other work.

Due to hardships created by the traditional occupation, begging and movement, which gives low income, some of them completely practice non-traditional occupations such as unskilled labour, daily wages, construction labour, selling steel utensils and old clothes, etc. Those who got regular jobs in organised departments receive higher salaries than other jobs.

In slums, more than half of them took up non-traditional occupations (table 11) and nearly a quarter of them are in

transitional occupations by taking up both traditional and non-traditional occupations. Only a few of them still hold traditional occupations (21.3%). When a respondent has traditional occupation his children may take up traditional or non-traditional or both of them.

In the villages, it has been observed that many of them respondents (46.3%) practice traditional occupations (Table 12) and over one-third of them are in transitional phase. A few of them (16%) have completely left out traditional occupations and are engaged in unskilled new occupations.

v) Nomadic Bahurupias/ Movements

Nomadism is as old as history of mankind. As the Bahurupias are nomads they move from one place to another place to play or beg or tell folk tales (ballads). Nearly 40 years back there was much movement by the entire families. As their entertainment is not favoured by the people due to cinemas, radios, television and video shows and related modern impact, their performances were less honoured. So their movements were also reduced year by year. Duration of movement is reduced. Now less number of families and their members move out in comparison with olden days.

In olden days the plays and tales of Bahurupias were applauded by the villagers. They were given much hospitality, food grain, and food and old clothes by the villages. These Jangams transmit Hindu and local culture through their plays and tales. Their movements may not be continuous. There may be many breakups. When a man moved out for 60 days in the last year means he had completed his 60 days in many trips. People who depend on traditional occupation move for a more period and include more of their family members. The movements are less in the case of persons who practice both caste and non-caste (mixed) occupations. However, non-traditional respondents do not show movements at all because they left their caste occupations.

Among slum settlers almost all the non-traditional respondents (55.9%) have stopped making movements for their livelihood as they stopped folk-plays, tales and begging (table 14). But traditional and transitional respondents still practice some movements who move for 60-150 days in a year mostly. Most of the traditional people move alongwith entire families followed by the transitional people. But here movements involving daily trips are not counted.

Among villages, a quarter of these traditional and transitional people do not make movements (table 15). Here also one-third of the people make movements alongwith entire families. Daily trips made by them are not counted.

VI) Migration to Slums

Jangams have migrated to the city from the nearby districts of Rangareddy, Medak and Mahaboobnagar during drought and lean seasons to start new life and so to encounter new experience. Only a quarter of the families in slums did not migrate and they have Hyderabad as birth cum residential places (table 16). It seems to be since many decades Jangams have contacts with the Hyderabad city even before independence. Some of the family heads (21 out of 136) got school education in the city and got good jobs and they also own pucca houses. The people who have encroached municipal land are trying to influence local politicians to allot plots for them for the same occupied places.

It has been observed that about 50 families have no any stability in residence as they have changed places four times since 15 years in the Hyderabad due to evacuation by the owners of the land. Even now they are residing on encroached land. Such changes caused hardship due to continuous harassment by the evacuator. The migrant Jangams beg and tell folk tales in the city, visit nearby villages in the Rangareddy district and even native villages for playing.

VII) Farming by Jangams

Jangams possess agricultural land in small extent. Three-fourths of them do not have agricultural land (table 17). Remaining people have small extent of farm land. During 1992-'93 much of their dry crops failed. Wells with less water could not irrigate land. Tanks with less water could not/any land. Half of them cultivate it on share-cropping basis. Remaining of them do it by engaging labour. Five slum people own bulls and no carts at their native villages. Seven respondents of non-traditional category also possess land at their villages. Farm management is very poor by them.

In the villages traditional families do not possess agricultural land (table 18). Among the transitional people one-third of them have less than one acre land. Seven people did not cultivate due to lack of investment. 13 people cultivate both dry and irrigated land. The crops of 10 people had completely failed.

There are few people who have shown interest on agriculture. Most of the people reside at one place and cultivate at another place. There are little inputs for crops and supervision is negligible. On average a person gets Rs 200 to 500 profit per acre. Only seven persons have bulls and two persons have carts. As they have less agricultural land they keep little livestock and poultry. They cultivate jowar, maize, mixed crops, castor, paddy, etc.

Such low income from agriculture may show much negative impact on the family income and consequently, on the education of children.

VIII) Demography

Among slum people, the family size is large. The average size is 5.9 individuals per family. They follow family planning practices after having sufficient children. Among the non-traditional families, the family size is more larger than other two

categories. They have high income and avail urban medical facilities at short notice (table 19).

Among the villagers the family size is a little less than the slum people. The family size is 5.1 (table 20). This may be due to high mortality but is yet to be confirmed. Here also high population growth is observed. As observed earlier, the non-traditional families have larger families than the other two categories.

Large families with low income may show negative impact on the children's education .

As observed from the data (tables 21 and 22) children population is high both in slums and villages of Jangam families. The child population (0-15 years) is above 40% of the total population. This is due to high population growth. This high child population gives much burden for parents to invest for them in food, clothes, health, education, etc. Unfortunately, education is given the last priority by the parents. Old people, disabled and other dependents add burden to the family head.

Education of Respondents :

Literates and educated persons are higher in number in slums than in villages (table 23). So the percentage of illiterates is lower (45.0) than that of literates (55.0) among slum respondents. 15.4% of them studied primary, 8.8% of them completed 7th class and the percentage of those who have completed secondary school is 7.4%. No one reached other higher grades.

In villages, there are only ¹⁶ respondents who have completed primary school and 12 persons who have completed 7th class. Only 3 persons completed secondary school and one person had done intermediate course. All female respondents in both slums and villages are illiterates (table 23).

As males have to read and some times have to write the poems and prose pages of their plays it necessitated them to become literates. Little attention is given to girls' education. Some say

that they are afraid of educating girls as educated girls need employed husbands and so it costs much dowry. Above all, the passive attitude of parents, school management and local politicians it led to spread of illiteracy.

The percentage of literacy is increasing from traditional to non-traditional categories in both slums and villages (table 21, 22). This is due to increasing awareness of families when they are changing to non-traditional occupations and get higher income.

Income of the Families

A family income of Rs 11,000 per annum is equal to the poverty line. This is according to the latest government estimates at the national level. Among slum people 50 families (36.8%) live above the poverty line who mostly come from the transitional and non-traditional categories (table 26). The income of the traditional families is less than the other two categories. The average income of the traditional category is Rs 470, transitional category is Rs 725 and that of non-traditional category is Rs 1136 and the average income of slum family is Rs 900.

Similarly in village families the traditional families have low income (table 27). But the transitional and non-traditional families show more income brackets. There are 16 families in villages who live above the poverty line (7.1%). The average monthly income of the traditional families is Rs 590, that of transitional families is Rs 745 and that of non-traditional families is Rs 932. The average monthly income of villagers is Rs 703.

CHAPTER IV Education of Bahurupia Population

i) Education among the urban poor and slums

The access of the urban poor to basic facilities such as shelter, water, education and health is so slow that it not only raises questions about their rights to day, but also about their productivity and earning capacity in the future. So there is a need for a wider reform of housing, health, education and drinking water policies aimed at increasing the access to these facilities of all sections of the population rather than merely protecting the interests of those who currently have access to them.

Nagpaul (1988) had mentioned about urban crisis. Many residents inhabiting uncontrolled developments on the fringes of emerging mega cities in less developed countries are practically isolated from the urban center and carry on much as they have done for generations. Over one-third of the population of the largest cities in India was born elsewhere and maintenance of rural way of life in the cities is common due to lack of urban employment, maintenance of village kinship ties and seasonal circulatory migration to rural areas.

Dogan (1988) had pointed out that the city system that emerged in less industrialised nations is primate in character. It shows over-urbanisation. Primate city systems developed with an orientation more toward manufacturing and development of local markets. As economic development proceeds, it occurs primarily in the large primate cities with very low rates of economic growth in rural areas. Consequently, nearly all the excess of births over deaths in the nation is absorbed by the large cities, which are more integrated into the emerging global urban system.

Lapas Majumdar (1992) had pointed out that the underemployed or under paid working population employed outside the organised

sector and living in the slums of the Indian cities have earnings far below the urban average and providing schooling for their children or literacy and education for their adults are major education issues that still defy solution. Urbanisation is the result of flights of insecure individuals and unsettled communities into the towns and cities fighting for a place in the sun (p 54).

Also the provision of education, particularly provision of literacy to the incoming rural workers or elementary education to their children naturally poses a special kind of problem. This has accentuated when the migrant workers belong to different linguistic groups try to cope with an unfamiliar urban surroundings. And the education delivery system in urban India is as heterogeneous as the urban population itself.

Govinda (1992) had mentioned that the proportion of slum population constitutes 35 to 40% of the total population, specially in the metropolitan cities. Levels of literacy and education vary in every city according to factors such as religion, caste, length of residence in the city, income, sex and age. It was further mentioned by him that one has to examine the context for schooling as to which section of the society really benefits from the existing facilities in addition to assessing the overall magnitude of the task of providing education facilities in the population of our urban areas (ibid, Govinda).

The incidence of non-enrolment among girls is more than that among boys, about 54% of the non-enrolled are girls. In the poorer sections of the society 21% of children in the school going age are not enrolled in primary schools, 18% boys and 26% girls. Among the slum dwellers about 51% of the children are not enrolled in the school. Amongst some of the migratory tribes, 100% of the tribal children are not enrolled (ibid, Govinda).

Seetharamu (1993) had reported (about slums of Bangalore) that as high as 24.4% of slum children dropout even before completing the first standard of education. 71% of enrolled children leave

school before they complete the lower primary grades. It is interesting to note that 38.6% of the dropouts do not do any work at home. One out of every 4 dropouts is engaged in paid work. Only one-fifth of the school dropouts remain busy with household work or wage labour for the whole day. Others do have considerable free time, even though the period may not be the same for all.

According to Baroda study by Buch and Sudame (1990) 27% children of the urban poor do not attend school. More boys than girls remained absent. The total dropout from class I to IV was about 35%. Dropouts for primary school by wastage and stagnation was more than 60%. According to studies in selected schools in Ahmedabad, Baroda and Surat indicate that incidence of wastage and stagnation varied from 47.4% to 54.4% for boys and the corresponding figures for girls vary from 50.32% to 58.8% (ibid, Buch and Sudame, 1990).

Bose (1992) had dwelt much upon the urban slums and urban child. In 1981 18.75% of people of urban population live in slums. A major concentration of the slum population was in the million plus cities - 43% of the country's total slum population. The larger sized cities had a higher percentage of slum population (p 8). Two-third of the poor of urban area in the country in 1987-'88 were in the six states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. Urban poverty is undoubtedly linked to rural poverty since a large percentage of the immigrants are the rural poor (p 11).

The work participation rate among the urban poor is high, mostly in the informal sector which has shown a higher absorptive capacity of manpower (especially of the unskilled and semi-skilled kind), lower capital needs and greater flexibility. The urban poor are mostly engaged in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations in the non-formal sector though a small percentage

is also engaged in skilled occupation (driver, mechanic, carpenter, etc). A fair percentage also comprises white collar workers. A large number is self-employed (ibid, Bose, p 12).

Among the slum people 62.1% of males are literate and among females, 21.4% are literates (table 28). Among different age groups of males, the frequency of literates is consistent. Among females, the frequency of literates is increasing since 16-20 year age group. There are no literates among females in the last three higher age groups.

When literates are examined occupationwise, illiteracy is highest among the traditional category people (table 29). In the remaining two categories illiteracy is decreasing. But females show always a high record of illiteracy.

Those who have completed primary schools and other higher classes are higher in number among non-traditional slum people than others. (table 32). Totally, 29.1% of slum people have completed primary classes and above classes. 45.1% males and only 12.7% of females completed primary and above classes. Such persons are very less in number among traditional and transitional categories. The literacy status of slum people are near to that of AP state (table 33). But females lag behind.

Among the villagers of Bahurupias, the percentage of literates among males is 52.7 and that of females is only 3.1% (table 30). Among the villagers, literacy percentage among males is increasing from the older to younger age groups. Among the females this trend is very low.

When the literates are examined occupationwise, illiterates are highest in number among the traditional category people (table 31). In the remaining two categories, illiteracy is slowly decreasing. But females show always a high record of illiteracy. Those who have completed primary schools and other higher classes are higher in number among non-traditional village people than

others (table 32). Totally, 15.5% of villagers have completed primary schooling. 28.5% of males and 0.7% females have completed primary schooling. When compared to Andhra Pradesh state literacy figures, it is the females who are lagging behind (table 33).

It seems to be Jangams are far away from the goals of 'Education For All by 2000 AD' and universalisation of elementary education. Especially, for females there is giant task ahead to do justice. The large A.P. state adult education department has done little to increase the adult literacy rates. The corruption that is going on in this department is well known. It is not so easy to replicate Kerala type of adult education programmes !

Among slums of the Hyderabad city private schools are common. But government schools are located at a distant place. The poor families of the slums rarely admit their children in the private schools because it is a costly affair. And as the cheap government schools are located faraway their children cannot go across busy roads to reach those schools. There is one girijan government school for Jangamettu slum. But it is told that girijan children beat their children. That is why some children do not go that school. The Jangams want a separate school for their children within their slum as they have many children for schooling.

In the villages colonies were built up for Jangams. These colonies have sufficient children for primary school. But there are no schools near the colonies. Even for the large villages and villages which have hamlets have no sufficient number of schools at proximal distance. For such reasons parents and children who have interest are keeping away from schools.

And it is difficult to expect higher literacy rates among the family members after taking up non-traditional occupations or reaching urban residence. Because they cannot get good income, living standards and social facilities at one stroke. They have

struggled and are struggling for non-starvation. It may take time to mobilise attitudes and resources to show interest on education by these changing families. But it should be matched with education and other departmental efforts.

CHAPTER V Schooling Problems of Jangam Children

After group discussion, it has been known that Bahurupias have doubts about the onward education of their children after secondary schooling. Half of them opted primary education and the other half for secondary education for their children. Because child has to study in a different higher education and institution after 10th class, he needs much investment, interest in education and also attention. They had determined that they may not get jobs as it needs much influence and competition. They have shown us examples where their 10th class completed children are now engaged in unskilled daily wages and the same tried for salaried jobs in vain. So such children are treated on par with the uneducated people ! What is the guarantee of more income with more schooling years ?

Some parents have still interest in educating their children if the incentives are guaranteed. Parents who have good income and settled want to try their children to the maximum extent provided child's interest. Government has no any economic programme for them. Only the housing programme benefitted them but it will not improve income status. They are regarded as fringe persons by the Mandal Development Officer and sarpanches. Nor did the Jangams approached banks and MDOs for aid .

The enrolment figures are recorded for the year 1992-'93. In the schooling pattern of Bahurupia slum children there are problems of overaged and underaged admission of children into schools (table 36). Some of the overaged children can be seen also in balwadis. In spite of these issues, a little above half of the boys of their age group were enrolled in the primary schools but only 35.6% of girls were enrolled (table 34). This situation is much worse in the secondary schools (classes VI to X). Nearly a little over one-third of the children are enrolled in secondary

schools. In the secondary schools 47.7% of boys and 22.4% of girls are enrolled which is still less than the primary school enrolment.

In the villages, most of the Jangam primary age-group children (92.8%) were enrolled but only a few girls, 19.8%, were enrolled (table 35). So 43.5% of the children of this age-group are not enrolled. This is much more worse in the case of secondary age-group children. 14.0% of boys are enrolled. No girls are enrolled in this age group. On the whole 59% of children of age group 6-15 years are not enrolled which also include dropouts.

We have tried to count dropouts classwise but due to school records irregularity and frequent migration of Jangam children such counting could be done with difficulty. Teachers do not maintain a track of students' communities and followup of their schooling. Similarly they do not maintain records of absenteeism. Only we have to get verbal notes.

Many slum children have dropped out of primary school but in the middle school it is yet to be observed over a period of them. It seems to be that since ten years only their children are being schooled and tried. If the school dropouts are included, more than half of the children (55.9%) are out of school in the age-group, 6-15 years in slums. The number of girls who dropped is higher always than boys. According to the earlier mentioned data (chapter I) of Educational Survey, enrolment figures are very high, especially, in primary schooling.

1) Parents : Over two-thirds of the families in both slums and villages have school-age children (table 37). And majority of the parents in slums (65.4%) expressed problems in educating their children because it may be they are in a new place. They want to improve but education and other facilities are deficient. Some parents in the villages are still silent and they need motivation.

10 parents from the slums and 11 parents from the villages were selected systematically to know their children's education problems (table 38). Parents have expressed problems in educating their children in both slums and villages and also suggested measures to avoid problems. Even though many parents have financial and movement problems, still they have interest in educating their children. Fathers have usually interest in educating their children. As the parents are poor they want to avoid frequent money demands from children for dress, text books, note books, pencils, food, guidance, etc. So most of them suggested for incentives. Hostels can provide these incentives. Hostels avoid problems for children whenever parents move. So they had opted for welfare hostels and government schools at proximal distance.

Some of the slum parents asked for even special tuitions to match better with school coaching. Some residential colonies were constructed for them in slums and villages but without schools. This needs the urgent attention of education department.

ii) Teachers :

We have covered seven teachers in slums and another seven in villages. Half of the teachers have told that most of the

<u>Coverage of teachers</u>			
<u>slum (7) villages (7)</u>		<u>Training</u>	
		<u>slum</u>	<u>village</u>
Govt. - 2	7	Trained - Govt 2	7
private 5	-	untrained - private	-

<u>Type of schools covered</u>				
<u>Type of school</u>	<u>slums</u>		<u>villages</u>	
	<u>Govt</u>	<u>Pvt.</u>	<u>Govt</u>	<u>Pvt.</u>
Primary	2	3	5	-
Secondary	.	2	2	-

Jangam children are not regular in doing home work and also less attentive in the class room. Half of the children are not good at class tests. It was told by the teachers that some children are not good at class tests. Some children are not regular to classes in times of harvesting season and some throughout the year. Teachers are not making home visits to motivate parents and the community in both slums and villages. The teachers have mentioned that culture, poverty, nomadism and non-motivation of parents are the reasons for wastage, absenteeism and disinterest of children in schooling.

To improve the enrolment and schooling as suggested by teachers, Jangams need motivation of parents and children, incentives to students, additional schools and economic programmes. Teachers' views are common in both slums and villages.

iii) Regular Children :

Regular students, five from slums and 10 from villages were selected for interviewing about the issues involved in the schooling (table 39). Some families of these students have nomadic and financial problems. Even then their parents are interested to educate their children. The parents want to set right absenteeism of their children. The parents expressed difficulty in understanding subjects.

Only a few students get incentives (books and dress, hostelling) in the villages. Some students are concerned about lack of home guidance and teachers' interest and distance of the schools. The children opted the need for incentives and better tuition at school and home.

IV) Absenteeism :

Regular attendance of school by students will ensure continuous touch with teachers, subjects and schooling. A student is an absentee when he attends classes less than 80% of the school working days. 18 absentees from slums and 15 absentees from villages were

identified from the teachers information. Five student absentees were selected from each area of slums and villages (table 40). In the slums government schools are located faraway. Also the children have to cross busy traffic roads to reach school. Such distance walking is essential for three villages, Matya Bolaram, Yadgarpalli and Sivarampalli.

Two parents from each area have expressed that their absenteeism is due to movement of family members. And a few cases are due to sickness of father and domestic work. Absentees are allowed to pass into higher class when the children submit documents to justify non-attendance days. Half of the absentees are girls.

V) Stagnation :

7 and 13 cases of stagnation are recorded from slums and villages respectively. Out of them 3 cases from slums and 7 cases from villages are selected by systematic sampling procedure (table 41). All students have felt that their subjects are difficult. This problem is followed by financial scarcity, movement of families domestic work. One in slum and two students in rural have repeated the academic years due to failure in the 7th class.

Except in 7th and 10th classes students from 1st to 10th classes are promoted with only attendance. That is why we get less number of stagnation cases of examination failure.

VI) School Dropouts :

Stagnation and dropouts are serious education problems for students. School dropouts are caused due to complex network of psycho-social and economic reasons. Five dropouts from slums and 15 dropouts from villages are selected to know various reasons for the same (table 42). The major reasons for dropouts seems to be lack of parents' interest and money for school expenses. These reasons are followed by teachers' interest and learning of

subjects. No doubt school proximity, movement of families, child's interest, domestic work and correct age admission are other issues.

Another reason for dropouts mentioned by the students joined by parents is the non-availability of jobs to the educated persons. They have told that most of the 10th class passed children in their community have no jobs and are working for daily wages. They are also feared about unemployment problem, in general. This issue seems to have weakened their interest in education.

Proper records including attendance registers are not maintained by the teachers. There were some teachers' transfers. There were movements of Jangam families and so children are missing. In the large slums, teachers took little note of students' identities. However, the available information is produced here.

Classwise dropouts of students (in %)					
No. of students enrolled in 1988 -	slums		villages		
	boys girls		boys girls		
	31	15	45	28	
	<u>Dropouts in</u>				
Class I	19.3	13.3	22.2	43.8	
Class II	6.3	13.3	11.1	17.9	
Class III	9.7	-	4.4	3.6	
Class IV	-	13.3	8.8	7.1	
Class V	9.7	20.0	6.7	-	
Dropouts in class I-V	45.0	59.9	53.2	72.4	

Dropouts in slums are lower than in villages. Dropouts are higher in initial classes of primary school. As observed elsewhere, dropouts in the secondary schools are less and it needs further observation. Because they are in starting years of secondary schooling.

School dropouts are high in primary schools. This is a great drawback. Because children who dropout in the starting years of primary schooling will lapse into illiteracy. And as such the goal

Dropouts during 1992 - '93

State/ district	I - IV class			I - VII class		
	B	G	T	B	G	T
A.P. state	51.2	54.0	52.4	60.0	67.9	63.2
Hyderabad Dist	19.9	22.3	21.1	29.6	36.7	33.2
Ranga Reddy "	60.7	56.9	59.1	68.1	69.7	68.8
<u>Present study</u>						
Slums -	35.5	39.9	36.9	-	-	-
Villages -	46.5	71.4	60.3			

Source : Child Labour in Andhra Pradesh, 1993, p 34,
Ministry of Labour, Govt. of A.P. & UNICEF.

Percentage of children not attending school

	source
Andhra Pradesh - 59.2	1981 census
Hyderabad Dist. 29.3	"
Ranga Reddy " 59.0	"
Jangams of Slums 55.9	present study, 1992-93
Jangams,,village 59.0	incl. dropouts, children's age, 6-15 yrs

of universalisation of elementary education may not be achieved. Dropouts among slum children are higher than that of Hyderabad district (which covers twin cities) but lower than the state figures. Dropouts among villages are comparable with that of Ranga Reddy district but girls show very high dropouts. Dropouts of village Jangams are higher than that of state figures.

VII) Child labour :

We want to give some observations on the child labour of Jangams. A child is a child labourer when he/ she is engaged in work upto the age of 15 years. Child labour is a phenomenon of poor countries. Child labour is expected in a community when there

are school dropouts, and illiterate children. These opt to do work at home or outside. They may be trainees. The work may be in kind or cash. 20% of the India's GNP is contributed by the child labour. Every third household in India has a working child or children (Bose, 1992). India has 13.17 million child labour. But the non-government organisations have showed more figures, 44 million. Child labour is the largest in India compared to world countries. Between 1971 and 1981 there was an increase in the work participation rate of girls and a decrease in the case of boys.

A child labour is a problem because a working child is deprived of education, play, recreation and free time, proper diet, safety and health (GoAP and UNICEF, 1993, p 1). A child labour is a lost childhood. Andhra Pradesh has 13% of child labour of India. Over 60% of all children in the 5-14 age group in Andhra Pradesh do not attend school. These children are either child workers or potential workers. 86% of these children live in the rural areas (GoAP and UNICEF, p iii).

Among Jangams, child labour is high in villages (37%) than in slums (24.5%). Among girls, child labour is higher than boys (table 43). These figures are lower when compared to state child labour. Child labour activities include begginz, assisting parents in folk plays, selling of old clothes and steel utensils, farm labour, construction work, any unskilled labour, apprenticeship, etc. Child labour among Bahurupias is increasing in percentage as the age of children is increasing (table 44). Three-fourths of the families have only one working child (table 45). Among traditional families high child labour is observed followed by transitional and non-traditional families.

Most of the working children are illiterates (85.9%). So a few have completed primary and secondary education (table 46). The data is comparable with the state level data (table 47). Thus

most of the children, illiterate and less educated, have to work not only now but also throughout their life. As they are illiterate and less educated they have to take up unskilled and semi-skilled jobs which give low income. So they have no prospects of higher learning and higher income.

CHAPTER VI SUMMARY AND SUGGESTIONS

The present study project on "Nomadism of Bahurupias and their Children's Education in Andhra Pradesh" was sponsored by the ERIC division of the NCERT, New Delhi, in 1992.

Formal education is one of the modern inputs for the traditional societies to get modern knowledge, skills and occupations to improve their living standards. Gone are the days of exclusively depending on traditional knowledge and skills. Education is a major source of social mobility. After independence, India is busy in starting new institutions and new programmes for secular and democratic change of our traditional society. We need new services and new production lines and then integrate them with the international economy.

To spread education to the vast population of the country, Indian Constitution (Article 45, part IV, of the Directive Principles of state policy) guaranteed free and compulsory education for children upto the age of 14. For this purpose, education commission was set up in 1964 by the Ministry of Education. This Commission was headed by the Kothari and its report was called the National Policy of Education, 1968. Kothari Commission traced the causes of failure to achieve universalisation of education to 1. lack of adequate resources, 2. tremendous increase in population, 3. resistance to education of girls, 4. general poverty of the people, 5. large number of children of the backward classes and 6. illiteracy and apathy of parents.

Meanwhile much educational infrastructure was created by the states with the contribution of the Central and state governments. Later on international aid was also used. Adult education programmes were launched and are being run to eradicate illiteracy among adults. Weaker sections were given many facilities to

attract school education . In 1979, during the Janata Party Government, a draft on National Education Policy was circulated which was similar to the policy of 1968. In this draft great emphasis was given for the education of harijans and girijans and adult education. In 1986, a new National Education Policy was formulated which period was the beginning of VII Five Year Plan.

The 1986 policy had laid stress on 10+2+3 structure, national curriculum, removal of disparities and equalising educational opportunities and educational development of scheduled tribes, scheduled castes and women. Vocationalisation of secondary education was emphasized. The pace setting schools, Navodaya schools, were started in every state. There are programmes of Total Literacy Campaign (TLC) and National Literacy Mission (NLM) to increase literacy among adults. There are also schemes to increase elementary education. They are Operation Black Board (OBB) and British Overseas Development Agency (ODA) financed for some school buildings in Andhra Pradesh.

In 1951, the literacy rate in India was 18.3. The male literacy rate was 27.2 and the female literacy rate was 8.9. By 1991, the literacy rate was 52.1. It means we did not achieve even 1% literacy per year. It means we have to do much to improve literacy. India was over ambitious to reach the goal of universalisation of elementary education by 1960 but this goal was being postponed to 1990, again to 1995 and now postponed to 2000 AD. In spite of all the above efforts of providing schools, scholarships, free welfare hostels, free books and dress, midday meal and adult education programmes, by 1991 India has piled up 33.67 and Andhra Pradesh has 3.1 crores illiterates. It seems to be that education benefitted the upper and middle strata of the society to a great extent.

It was told that teachers report exaggerating school enrolment figures and later throw the blame on dropouts. Experts are

concerned about the effect of education on migrants and slow rural development. There are inter and intra-class and caste inequalities. There are under-age and over-age school admissions. Still, parents and teachers consider children of weaker sections and girls as fringe beneficiaries of school education.

Government of India and states are spending 3.7% of its total budget on education, but 70% of it is allotted for post-secondary education. However, most of the budget is being spent on staff salaries. The Government of Andhra Pradesh is spending more than Rs 400 crores per year for education. Its adult education department is spending Rs 20 crores per year for adult education programme. With all its hue and cry in establishing costly welfare hostels, residential schools and large administration at the secretariat, districts and directorate, this state has been branded as one of the educationally backward states with its 3.1 crores illiterates. And the A.P. state teachers' union claim that since five years 16,000 teachers' posts were not filled up due to financial problems of the state.

In Andhra Pradesh, the most educationally backward communities are scheduled tribes (with 8% literacy rate), followed by scheduled castes (with 20% literacy rate), backward classes and women (with 20-30% literacy rate). There are village-wise, community-wise and ward-wise variations in the literacy rates. There are variations in the inputs of psycho-social and political and economic variables.

We have problems of literates lapsing into illiterates due to non-follow up. There are literates who can only read, those who can only read and write but poor in arithmetics. There are 1.5 million working children in the A.P. state. There is severe unemployment and underemployment of the educated people. Popularity of government schools is overpowered by the costly private schools. There are great rural - urban differences in literacy

and sex differences in literacy rates.

It has been found that there is much gap between teachers' activities and the community. The school cannot be realistic if it is confined to the four walls of the class room, library, shop or lab. Their relationship creates co-operative planning and democracy. The response of schools to social environment depends on the political leaders, groupings of people, catchment area and the teacher.

Even in the Western countries, the school is concerned with social and cultural strata. The school administration has to deal with students coming from ethnic minorities and low income groups. Urban crisis stems from the presence of slums, racism, shortage of housing and transportation, presence of insanitary situation, pollution, crime, violence, public immorality, delinquency and less facilities for schools.

Present Study :

There is need to know culture specific and area specific issues to diagnose social and economic change. Nomadism is as old as history of mankind. Nomads move from one place to another place with their portable dwellings to eke out their livelihood. In India there are nearly 30 million nomadic population who are placed in scheduled caste, scheduled tribe and Backward classes. In Andhra Pradesh there are two million nomadic population who are at different nomadic^{stages} nomadic, semi-nomadic and settled life. In Andhra Pradesh most of the nomadic communities are placed in the Backward Classes - A category. Nomadic problems and their socio-economic change are rarely studied in Andhra Pradesh. Nomads have their own culture and ideas about modernisation. Nomadic communities are not only marginal to the academic interest but also marginal to the development programmes. The nomadic people, like all other weaker sections of the population are under tremendous pressure of poverty syndrome.

Among nomads, family heads move, in some cases part of the family moves, and in some other cases entire families move out. They harbour outside a village or the open place in a town or city. Some may move seasonally, or most of the year or some may make daily trips. In olden days, nearly 50 years ago, they were given good hospitality by the villagers. Because of emergence of modern technology nomadic services are being ignored. Nomads are divided on the basis of their services. They are, 1. food gathering and hunting nomads, 2. pastoral nomads, 3. trading nomads, 4. beggars and entertainers and 5. criminal nomads.

Nomads represent an important part in the Indian culture. From time immemorial, nomadic tribes have been described as "born tourists". As they do not find permanent patronage in one single village they are converted into wandering groups forming a complement to the local people. They are a part of rural cosmopolitanism. They have caste systems, occupational specialities and follow endogamy. As the rural society is changing, nomadism affects adversely. They want to settle as mobile life has become more challenging, difficult and hazardous.

The VIII Five Year Plan (1989) has emphasized welfare programmes for nomads. This plan proposal has recommended research work on them, proposed school enrolment drive and residential schools for their children and special ration cards for their families. Long before, NCERT experts proposed mobile schools for their children as a transitional measure (1964).

The present study is concerned with the children's education of Bahurupias. The A.P. state Backward Classes Commission (1970) considered Jangams as socially and economically backward community. They belong to beggar and entertaining nomads. Bahurupias (Bahu : many; rupia : roles) means people who play many roles. They are the largest nomadic population in Andhra Pradesh. There is one million Jangam population in this state.

Jangams tell stories (ballads) and play street plays. After playing, they ask for alms. Their women weave palm mats. They play mimics and cut jokes. They apply "Yakshaganam" in their plays. Their plays or stories include epics and local events. During harvesting season (November - February), festivals, ceremonies and auspicious days they move on for begging and playing. Some of them also sell folk and herbal medicines, tell palmistry and practice as quacks.

Now their caste occupations are facing less public support. They lost livelihood. With introduction of radio, cinema, costly dramas and doordarshan, Jangams were forced to go for new unskilled occupations such as selling steel utensils, old clothes, daily wares, repair of umbrellas and plastic utensils, agriculture, construction labour, etc. Recently they have acquired some agricultural land bearing 1-3 acres. Very few have irrigated land. Many times they leave the land uncultivated due to lack of interest and investment.

Jangams are honest and tame people. While begging they touch the feet of rich people and landlords. In some places while elder people practice caste occupations, young ones were given choice to choose occupations. Earlier there were child marriages. Now they marry girls after maturity. Bride price is still prevalent. The modern and job-holders observe dowry system. In marriages they take non-vegetarian food and liquor.

Whenever there is conflict, they call all the caste elders, organise caste panchayat and penalise the wrong-doers. Theft, rape, concubine and illicit sexual activities are regarded as serious offences. Highest penalty is declared for such crimes. Deliveries are conducted at home. Rarely pregnant women and children are immunised. At the time of severe illness only they go for medical treatment. They do not take cooked food and water from harijans and girijans. They observe Hindu festivals. Birth and death

ceremonies are observed like Hindus. The penalised money is spent for drinks and dinner. Sometimes sarpanches and other caste elders are also called for panchayats.

DATA :

The data to study nomadism of Jangams and their children's education has been gathered from two Hyderabad slums and five villages of Ranga Reddy district. By this we can know their urban and rural life. All the houses were enumerated. The two slums consist of 136 houses and five villages consists of 225 houses. After selecting the cases by systematic sampling schedules were canvassed for parents, teachers, regular school children, absentees, children with stagnation and dropouts to know various issues of education.

Among slums more than half of Jangams (55.9%) practice non-traditional occupations followed by those who practice both traditional and non-traditional occupations (transitional) (22.8%) and those who practice caste occupations (21.3%).

Among villages, 46.7% of surveyed families depend on traditional occupations followed by transitionals (37.3%) and non-traditional families (16.0%). This data on occupations of families of both areas indicates that Jangams are changing fast towards non-traditional occupations, whether the new occupations are unskilled or need hardwork or unsuitable. This change is active since 30 years. But this onward change depends on the availability of many facilities and income initiatives for their children who are the future adopters.

Most of the respondents are the middle-aged. There are also some women respondents. A.P. government had constructed one-fifth of slums and half of village houses. Some have encroached municipal land in the slums. Half of the houses of both areas are pucca type. More than half of them have ration cards. Nearly 40% of them do not have ration cards. This is due to movement of families and

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not pursuing the matter with the civil supply officials.

The tradition of nomadism is followed by half of the traditional people for 60-150 days in a year and by the transitional people with less duration. Non-traditional people residing both in villages and slums do not observe nomadism. Majority of traditional people move with either entire families or with part of the family members. In the case of transitional people only family head moves.

Regarding migratory status of slum Jangams, only a quarter of them are non-migrants or their birth place is slums. So majority of them had migrated to the slums over a period of 40 years. The migrants hail from the nearby villages of Ranga Reddy, Medak and Mahaboobnagar districts. Their villages are at a distance of 20 to 60 Kms from the Hyderabad city. The migrants have to encroach municipal or revenue or private land. They have to shift from one place to another one when the owner of the land asks to vacate the land. Government has constructed houses for them at Indira Nagar.

Three-fourths of slum Jangams do not have agricultural land. Rest of them have small extent of land. In the rural side two-thirds of Jangams have small extent of land. They are not showing much interest due to lack of agricultural implements and money for inputs. Most of them cultivate by engaging labour. There is no sufficient monitoring of crops. Due to less rain fall since three years their crops failed. Even the irrigation sources have dried up.

There is population explosion among this community, both in slums and villages. They practice little family planning methods. And the health staff do not contact them. Andhra Pradesh is also one of the highly populated state. The average family size of slum people is 5.9 and that of rural side, it is 5.1. The sex

ration in slums and villages are 970 and 881 respectively. Their families are overburdened with children, aged, disabled and other dependants, leading to chronic poverty.

The percentages of illiterates among slums (47.8%) and villages (68.7%) are high among household heads. All the female household heads are illiterates. The number of illiterates are lower among slum people. The number of schooling years are more among slum respondents. Among literates a few of them have studied in schools. Little attention is given to girls' education. As males have to read and write folk poems it necessitated them to become literates. The poor, illiterates and traditional parents are showing less interest in girls' education. Now bride price is observed in marriages among the traditional people. They are afraid, if girls are schooled and educated, they need educated bridegrooms and also have to pay dowry. However, there is positive trend for girls' education among higher income or non-traditional families.

Monthly family income is increasing towards transitional and non-traditional families. Traditional families get less income. Among slums, one-third of the families (36.8%) live above the poverty line and among villages only 7.1% families live above the poverty line. Only some government employees get good income.

Education of Jangam Population

The urban poor or slum people have little access to shelter, water, education and health facilities. Slums in the cities are swelling fast. The city system that emerged in less industrialised nations, such as India, is primate in character. It also ^{shows} over-urbanisation. The incomes of slum people are less. They are less educated. Experts observed that in Indian slums, over half of the girls are not enrolled in schools and 70% of the enrolled children in primary schools dropout. Urban poverty is linked to rural

poverty since a large percentage of the immigrants are the rural poor. Most of the urban poor are engaged in labour intensive and unskilled jobs.

Among the Jangam slum population 62.1% of males and 21.4% of females are literates. But only a little above a quarter of them are schooled. Intermediates and graduates are very less (1.1%). And the situation of females is still worse. Among the villagers, 52.7% of males and 3.1% of females are literates. Of all, 15% of them are schooled. It was observed that some parents are teaching alphabets for children at home when the school is not seen at a proximal distance.

There is adult education department but did little to increase the adult literacy rates. Kerala type of education programmes could not be replicated in Andhra Pradesh. Most of the slum schools are of private type. But the private schools are costly. Government schools are located far away in both slums and in some villages. The children do not have interest to walk such distance for schooling. There is vehicular traffic problem for slums school children. So Jangams need separate schools at proximal distance.

After group discussion, it has been known that Bahurupias have doubts about the schooling and onward education of their children. Due to non-schooling some of the literate parents are teaching alphabets to their children at homes. They have told that a child needs investment for good dress, books and fees and timely food needs. But even the 10th class studied children are doing unskilled waged labour without salaried jobs ! So there is no difference of income between the schooled young ones and illiterate ones.

On the other hand, government has no any economic programmes for them. A few of the schooled get incentives. They cannot attend to the daily child needs when they are poor and when they

move away for livelihood. There is no political and school administration that motivates them, at least to avoid non-economic factors and educate them upto 10th class. Yet some parents are showing interest to educate their children.

Enrolment :

There are overaged and underaged children in schooling of slums and villages. In slums over half of the boys were enrolled in the primary schools and girls form one-third of their age-group. In the Indiranagar slum the situation is worse who have worked hard for their settlement since 15 years and who have changed many places in the city due to evacuation. Nearly one-third of the children are enrolled in the secondary schools. (boys, 47.7% and girls, 22.4%). In the intermediate only five people (4 boys, 1 girl) are studying. In the degree only two boys are studying. In slums, 44% of children (6-15 yrs) are out of school.

In the villages, 92.8% of boys and 9.4% girls are enrolled. In the secondary, 14% of boys of their age group are enrolled but no girls are enrolled. 59% of children of the age group, 6-15 years, are out of school. The enrolment is slightly better in the slums. On the average, half of the primary age-group children are enrolled. When we compare these figures to all India and Andhra Pradesh level, these figures are very low. The figures of India and A.P. state are above 85% of their primary age group and there is suspicion of manipulation of enrolment figures.

Parents in slums have motivation to educate their children. Some village parents also need motivation. The parents like to educate their children but are concerned about its cost, regularity and long term continuity. In spite of movement problems and poverty, parents need incentives, hostels and government

sschools at proximal distance.

As the teachers are not regular in their monitoring of children's education and in maintaining records on schooling problems, parents want much more teachers' interest in teaching to make subjects easy for children. Teachers are not making home visits and community contacts to motivate parents and children. The teachers mentioned about the irregularity of Jangam students at attendance, homework and tests and absence during the harvesting season, the period of their movement. The teachers have mentioned that culture, poverty, nomadism and non-motivation of parents are the main reasons for their disinterest, absenteeism and wastage.

Some of the regular students and their parents expressed family movement of families, busy traffic on main roads, unknown of parents and domestic work. By submitting appropriate documents to justify absenteeism they can reach higher class. The reasons for stagnation were difficult subjects, failure, movement of families and financial problems. As there is promotion in all classes without examinations except in 7th and 10th classes incidence of stagnation due to failure in every class are not observed.

The primary school dropouts are 45% for boys and 59% for girls in slums and 53% for boys and 72% for girls. Dropouts in secondary school (VI to X classes) are not clear and it needs to be observed further. The major reasons for school dropouts are lack of parents' and students' interest, and teachers' interest and money for school expenses. Here, again, students complained of difficulty of subjects. This problem is increasing in the higher classes. The other reasons for school dropouts are school distance, movement of families, domestic work and not admitting due to over-age.

There are problems to record data on school dropouts. School records are not proper. There is movement of Jangam families ...

and so we could not trace students' onward continuity in schools. school dropouts are high in primary schools. This ^{is} a great drawback to achieve the goal of universalisation of elementary education because early class dropouts may lapse into illiterates. Dropouts among slum children are higher than that of Hyderabad district (twin cities) but lower than the state figures. Dropouts among Jangam girls are very high.

Child Labour

If there were no illiterates and school dropouts there would not be child labour. Child labour is higher in villages than in slums. Girl child labour is higher than boys child labour. Higher the age of children, higher the percentage of child labour. There are also families who have more than one working child. 86% of child labour is illiterate. Working children have no prospects of higher learning and higher income.

Suggestions

Optimum enrolment and their continuity can be ensured by the following activities :

1. Teachers have to take note of new migrants/ nomads in the village or slums, register the children's names and contact those parents to persuade schooling of their children.
2. Teachers, parents and local sarpanches or municipal councillors have to work together for the enrolment of children, especially, that of girls.
3. The teacher has to identify Jangam children and submit their list of incentives to the district education and welfare departments for followup. It is good if attendance incentives are given to Jangam girls.
4. Teachers should give better coaching to these children and motivation to attract schools. He should keep watch on absenteeism,

stagnation and school dropouts and make efforts to reduce them.

5. The concerned Mandal Development/ Revenue Officer has to keep watch on the Jangams and other nomads. Their minimum needs such as housing, ration cards, self-employment programmes, etc should be fulfilled. Nomads need to be given options to social and economic change.

6. The staff of the health department should watch them and deliver health services for Jangams. Their disabled children need education, training and rehabilitation.

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Table 7 Sex and age composition of Respondents

Age group (yrs)	slums				Villages				Total	
	Male	Female	persons	%	Male	Female	per sons	%	No	%
20-30	29	1	30	22.0	53	2	55	24.4	85	23.5
31-40	58	2	60	44.1	58	4	62	27.6	122	33.8
41-50	24	3	27	19.9	46	4	49	21.8	76	21.1
51-60	12	1	13	9.6	23	4	27	12.0	40	11.1
61	6	-	6	4.4	29	3	32	14.2	38	10.5
Total	129	7	136	100.0	208	17	225	100.0	361	100.0

Table 8 Ownership of Housing plots of Respondents

ownership of housing	Slums		Villages	
	No	%	No	%
a) Government	27	19.9	117	52.0
b) Own	36	26.4	41	18.2
c) Rented	3	2.2	-	-
d) Free	-	-	67	29.8
e) Encroached	70	51.5	-	-
Total	136	100.0	225	100.0

Table 9 Type of housing of Bahurupias

Type of housing	slums		villages	
	No	%	No	%
Pucca	71	52.2	143	63.6
Semi-pucca	17	12.5	12	5.3
Kuchha	48	35.3	70	31.1
Total	136	100.0	225	100.0

Table 10 Possession of Ration cards by Bahurupias

possession of ration cards	slums		villages	
	no	%	no	%
Have	74	54.4	132	58.7
Have not	61	44.9	92	40.9
Missing	1	0.7	1	0.4
Total	136	100.0	225	100.0

Table 11 Occupations of households heads - Slum

Sex	Tradi- tional	trad. & non-trad.	Non- trad.	Total
Male	27	30	72	129
Female	2	1	4	7
Total No	29	31	76	136
%	21.3	22.8	55.9	100.0

Table 12 Occupations of household heads - villages

Sex	Trad.	Trad. & non-trad.	Non- trad.	Total
Male	93	84	31	208
Female	12	-	5	17
Total	No 105 % 46.7	84 37.3	36 16.0	225 100.0

Table 13 Non-traditional occupations of Bahurupias
family members

S.No.	Name of occupation	slum	villages
		Number of individuals	
1.	Selling steel utensils and old clothes	79	27
2.	Agriculture - -	23	61
3.	Agricultural labour	6	122
4.	Non-agricultural labour	48	36
5.	Umbrella repair - -	13	4
6.	Construction labour	15	-
7.	Petty business - -	-	12
8.	Painting - -	11	-
9.	Waste paper gathering	5	5
10.	Repair of plastic articles	8	2
11.	Auto/ lorry driving -	4	2
12.	Govt. service - -	13	2
13.	Govt. factory -	4	-
14.	Bank service - -	4	2

Note : A person may do more than one job. Today he may repair plastic articles. Tomorrow he may go for construction labour. Most of the above non-traditional jobs do not require even literacy.

- Since three years there is drought and so little crop or no crop was yielded by the Jangams.

Table 14 Movements of the Bahurupia family members
in the last one year - slums

Days of movements	Trad.		trad & Non.trad.		Non- tradt.		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%
No movement	5	17.2	3	9.7	76	100.0	84	61.7
30- 60 days	-		2	6.5	-		2	1.5
60- 90 "	13	44.8	23	74.1	-		36	26.5
90- 150 "	6	20.8	2	6.5	-		8	5.9
150 "	5	17.2	1	3.2	-		6	4.4
Total	29	100.0	31	100.0	76	100.0	136	100.0

Movement by

- family head	5	17.2	16	51.6	-		21	35.0
- part of family	4	13.8	7	22.6	-		11	18.3
- entire family	20	69.0	8	25.8	-		28	46.7
Total	29	100.0	31	100.0	-		60	100.0

Table 15 Movements of the family members of Jangams
in the last one year - villages

Days of movements	Trad.		Trad. & non-trad.		Non- tradt.		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No.	%	No	%
No movement	28	26.7	23	27.4	36	100.0	87	38.7
30- 60 days	1	0.9	3	3.6	-		4	1.8
60- 90 days	64	61.0	58	69.0	-		122	54.2
90- 150 "	12	11.4	-		-		12	5.3
150 "	-		-		-		-	
Total	105	100.0	84	100.0	36	100.0	225	100.0

Movement by

- family head	26	24.8	44	52.4	-		70	37.0
- part of family	38	36.2	21	25.0	-		59	31.2
- entire family	41	39.0	19	22.6	-		60	31.8
Total	105	100.0	84	100.0	-		189	100.0

Table 16 Migration and Occupation status of Bahurupias - Slums

Migration status	trad.	trad. & non-trad.	non-trad.	Total	
				No	%
i) Non-migrants	-	3	33	36	26.5
ii) <u>Migrants</u>					
5 yr	-	-	1	1	0.7
6- 10 "	11	4	6	21	15.4
11- 20 "	9	12	8	29	21.3
21- 30 "	9	9	23	41	30.1
31- 40 "	-	3	3	6	4.4
41 "	-	-	2	2	1.5
Total	29	31	76	136	100.0

Table 17 Possession of agricultural land - Slums

acres	trad		non-trad & trad		non-trad		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
No agr.land	22	75.9	22	70.9	69	90.9	113	83.1
1 acre	3	10.3	5	16.2	2	2.6	10	7.4
2 "	3	10.3	4	12.9	2	2.6	9	6.6
3 "	1	3.5	-	-	1	1.3	2	1.5
4 "	-	-	-	-	1	1.3	1	0.7
5 "	-	-	-	-	1	1.3	1	0.7
6 "	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	29	100.0	31	100.0	76	100.0	136	100.0

Table 18 Possession of agricultural land - villages

acres	trad		transi		Non-trad		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
No agr. land	105	100.0	25	29.8	34	94.4	164	72.8
1 acre -			25	29.8	1	2.8	26	11.6
2 " -			12	14.2	1	2.8	13	5.8
3 " -			13	15.5	-		13	5.8
4 " -			7	8.3	-		7	3.1
5 " -			-		-		-	
6 " -			2	2.4	-		2	0.9
Total	105	100.0	84	100.0	36	100.0	225	100.0

Table 19 Family size of Bahurupias - Slums

size of family	trad.		trad. & non-trad.		Non-trad.		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No.	%	No	%
1	-		-		-		-	
2	1	3.4	1	3.2	4	5.3	6	4.4
3.	3	10.3	4	12.9	7	9.2	14	10.3
4	7	24.2	8	25.7	10	13.2	25	18.5
5	6	20.8	6	19.4	6	7.9	18	13.2
6	-		8	25.8	15	19.7	23	16.9
7	5	17.2	2	6.5	19	25.0	26	19.1
8	7	24.1	2	6.5	15	19.7	24	17.6
Total	29	100.0	31	100.0	76	100.0	136	100.0

Average size of the family : 5.9

Table 20 Family size of Bahurupia Respondents -villages

Family size	trad.		trad. & non-trad.		non-trad.		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	NO	%
1	3	2.9	-	-	-	-	3	1.3
2	12	11.4	8	9.5	1	2.8	21	9.3
3	10	9.5	9	10.7	7	19.4	26	11.6
4	23	21.9	10	11.9	4	11.1	37	16.4
5	20	19.0	12	14.3	10	27.8	42	18.6
6	17	16.2	16	19.0	2	5.6	35	15.6
7	11	10.5	11	13.1	4	11.1	26	11.6
8	9	8.6	18	21.4	8	22.2	35	15.6
Total	105	100.0	84	100.0	36	100.0	225	100.0

Average size of the family : 5.1

Table 21 Sex and age particulars of population of Bahurupias - slums

Age groups (yrs)	Male		Female		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
0-1	11	2.7	12	3.0	23	2.8
1-5	59	14.3	56	14.0	115	14.1
6-10	74	17.9	73	18.2	147	18.0
11-15	65	15.7	49	12.2	114	14.0
16-20	41	9.9	48	12.0	89	10.9
21-30	56	13.6	83	20.7	139	17.1
31-40	63	15.3	38	9.5	101	12.4
41-50	25	6.0	21	5.2	46	5.6
51-60	12	2.9	13	3.2	25	3.2
61	7	1.7	8	2.0	15	1.9
Total	413	100.0	401	100.0	814	100.0

Number of families : 136

Average family size : 5.9

Sex ratio .---- : 970

Table 22 Sex and age particulars of population of
Bahurupias - villages

Age group (yrs)		Male		Female		Total	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
0-1	32	5.2	20	3.7	52	4.5	
1-5	89	14.5	83	15.4	172	14.9	
6-10	97	15.8	96	17.7	193	16.7	
11- 15	57	9.3	36	6.7	93	8.1	
16- 20	48	7.8	70	13.0	118	10.2	
21- 30	106	17.3	92	17.0	198	17.2	
31- 40	74	12.1	64	11.9	138	11.9	
41- 50	47	7.7	26	4.8	73	6.3	
51- 60	27	4.4	26	4.8	53	4.6	
61	36	5.9	27	5.0	63	5.6	
Total	613	100.0	540	100.0	1153	100.0	

No. of families : 225

Average family size : 5.1

Sex ratio - - : 881

Table 23 Literacy status of Respondents

Education status	slums		Total		Villages		Total	
	Male	Female	No	%	Male	Female	No	%
Illiterate	58	7	65	47.8	115	17	132	58.7
Literate	28	-	28	20.6	61	-	61	27.2
Primary	21	-	21	15.4	16	-	16	7.1
7th Class	12	-	12	8.8	12	-	12	5.3
Secondary	10	-	10	7.4	3	-	3	1.3
Inter	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	0.4
Total	129	7	136	100.0	208	17	225	100.0

Table 24 Literacy and occupation status of
Bahurupia Respondents - Slums

Education status	Trad		Trad. & non-trad		non-trad		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Illiterate	18	62.1	14	45.2	33	43.4	65	47.8
Literate	7	24.1	12	38.7	9	11.8	28	20.6
Primary	4	13.8	4	12.9	13	17.1	21	15.4
7th Class	-		1	3.2	11	14.5	12	8.8
Secondary	-		-		10	13.2	10	7.4
Total	29	100.0	31	100.0	76	100.0	136	100.0

Table 25 Literacy and occupation status of Bahurupias
Respondents - villages

Education status	trad		trad & non-trad.		non-trad.		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Illiterate	66	62.9	54	64.3	12	33.3	132	58.7
Literate	32	30.4	20	23.8	9	25.0	61	27.2
Primary	5	4.8	6	7.1	5	13.9	16	7.1
7th class	2	1.9	3	3.6	7	19.4	12	5.3
Secondary	-		1	1.2	2	5.6	3	1.3
Inter	-		-		1	2.8	1	0.4
Total	105	100.0	84	100.0	36	100.0	225	100.0

Table 26 Monthly family income of Bahurupias - Slums

Income group (Rs)	Trad.	Trad & non-trad.	Non-trad.	Total No	%
200	5	-	-	5	3.7
201 - 400	8	8	1	17	12.5
401 - 600	10	6	11	27	19.8
601 - 800	6	11	14	31	22.7
801 - 1000	-	3	22	25	18.4
1001 - 1200	-	2	8	10	7.4
1201 - 1400	-	1	2	3	2.2
1401 - 1600	-	-	2	2	1.5
1601 - 1800	-	-	5	5	3.7
1801 - 2000	-	-	5	5	3.7
2001 - 2200	-	-	-	-	-
2201	-	-	6	6	4.4
Total	29	31	76	136	100.0
Mean Rs	470	725	1136	900	

Note : Alms got such as cooked food and lod clothes are not counted.

Table 27 Monthly family income of Bahurupias - Villages

Income group (Rs)	trad.	trad, & non-trad.	Non-trad.	Total No	%
200	4	-	-	4	1.8
201 & 400	13	-	1	14	6.2
401 - 600	55	27	12	94	41.8
601 - 800	33	47	11	91	40.5
801 - 1000	-	6	6	12	5.3
1001 - 1200	-	2	3	5	2.2
1201 - 1400	-	-	2	2	0.9
1401 - 1600	-	-	1	1	0.4
1601 - 1800	-	-	-	-	-
1801 - 2000	-	2	-	2	0.9
2001 - 2200	-	-	-	-	-
2201	-	-	-	-	-
Total	105	84	36	225	100.0
Mean Rs	590	745	932	703	

Note : Alms got such as cooked food and old clothes are not counted..

Table 28 Age groups and the literates among the
Bahurupias - Slums (≥ 7 yrs)

Age group (yrs)	Male			Female			Total	
	illiter	litera	%	illi.	liter.	%	NO	%
7 - 10	26	35	57.3	41	22	34.9	57	46.0
11 - 15	12	53	81.5	23	26	53.0	79	69.3
16 - 20	13	28	68.3	38	10	20.8	38	42.7
21 - 30	24	32	57.1	73	10	12.0	42	30.2
31 - 40	24	39	61.9	37	1	2.6	40	39.6
41 - 50	13	12	48.0	21	-	-	12	26.1
51 - 60	7	5	41.7	13	-	-	5	20.0
61	6	1	14.3	8	-	-	1	6.7
Total	125	205		254	69	-		
	(37.9)	(62.1)		(78.6)	(21.4)			

Table 29 Literacy status among the family members
of Bahurupias - Slums (≥ 7 yrs)

Literacy status	trad.		transit		non-trad.		Total		persons
	Male	Fem.	Male	Fema.	Male	Fema.	M	F	
Illiterate	36	60	37	59	52	135	124	254	379
%	56.3	88.2	54.4	96.7	26.3	69.6	37.9	78.6	58.0
Literate	14	2	14	2	28	24	56	28	84
%	21.8	3.0	20.6	3.3	14.1	12.4	17.0	8.7	12.9
Primary	6	3	12	-	30	12	48	15	63
%	9.3	4.4	7.7	-	15.2	6.2	14.5	4.6	9.6
6 & 7 class	4	3	3	-	47	14	54	17	71
%	6.3	4.4	4.4	-	23.7	7.2	16.4	5.3	10.9
8-10 class	3	-	2	-	36	8	41	8	49
%	4.7	-	2.9	-	18.2	4.1	12.4	2.5	7.5
Inter	1	-	-	-	3	1	4	1	5
%	1.6	-	-	-	1.5	0.5	1.2	0.3	0.8
Graduate	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	2
%	-	-	-	-	1.0	-	0.6	-	0.3
Total	64	68	68	61	198	194	330	323	653

Table 30 Age groups and the literates among the
Jangams - Villages (≥ 7 yrs)

Age group (yrs)	Male			Female			literates Total	
	illit.	liter	%	illit.	liter.	%	No	%
7 - 10	36	49	57.6	71	7	9.0	56	34.3
11 - 15	19	38	60.7	34	2	5.6	40	43.0
16 - 20	19	29	60.4	68	2	2.9	31	26.3
21 - 30	31	75	70.8	91	1	1.1	76	38.4
31 - 40	41	33	44.6	63	1	1.6	34	24.6
41 - 50	32	15	32.0	26	-		15	20.5
51 - 60	21	6	22.2	26	-		6	11.3
61	23	8	22.2	27	-		8	12.7
Total	227	253	52.7	408	13	3.1		

Table 31 Literacy status among the family members
of Jangams - villages (≥ 7 yrs)

Literacy status	trad.		transit		non-trad.		Total		per- sons
	male	fema.	male	fema.	male	fem.	M	F	
Illiterate	116	205	78	137	33	66	227	408	635
%	50.5	97.1	47.9	96.5	37.9	97.0	47.3	96.9	70.5
Literate	58	5	42	3	16	2	116	10	126
%	25.2	2.4	25.7	2.1	18.5	3.0	24.2	2.4	14.0
Primary	33	-	27	1	19	-	79	1	80
%	14.3		16.6	0.7	21.8		16.4	0.2	8.9
7th class	12	-	7	-	12	-	31	-	31
%	5.2		4.3		13.8		6.5		3.4
8-10 class	11	1	9	1	6	-	26	2	28
%	4.8	0.5	5.5	0.7	6.9		5.4	0.5	3.1
Inter	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1
%					1.1		0.2		0.1
Total	230	211	163	142	87	68	480	421	901

Table 32 People who have completed primary and
above classes (in %)

	trad		transit		non-trad		Total		persons
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Slums	21.9	8.8	25.0	-	59.6	18.0	45.1	12.7	29.1
Villages	24.3	0.5	28.4	1.4	43.6	-	28.5	0.7	15.5

Table 33 Literacy status among Jangams (%)

Area		persons	male	female
Slums	-	42.0	62.7	21.3
Villages	-	29.5	52.7	3.1
Pooled	-	34.7	56.5	11.0
Andhra Pradesh		44.1	55.1	32.7
1991				

Table 34-A Schooling pattern of Bahurupia children
slums (6-15 yrs)

Schooling pattern	trad.		transit.		non-trad.		Total		chil- dren
	boys	girls	boy	girl	boy	girl	B	G	
<u>enrolled</u>									
pre-primary	-	-	-	-	3	2	3	2	5
primary	9	3	5	1	28	22	42	26	68
%							60.8	38.4	49.6
Secondary	1	2	-	-	30	9	31	11	42
%							47.7	22.4	36.8

Note : Children who are attending pre-primary (balwadis)
are over aged and belong to primary age group.

Table 34-B Schooling problems of Bahurupia children
slums (6-15 yrs)

schooling problem	trad		transit.		non-trad		Total		chil- dren
	boy	girl	B	G	B	G	B	G	
<u>Dropouts in</u>									
Primary	6	8	7	2	8	4	21	14	35
Secondary	-	-	-	-	6	2	6	2	8
Never schooled	14	24	12	16	16	27	42	67	109

6-15 yrs	Boys	girls	children
Out of school children	63	83	146
(incl. dropouts) %	45.3	68.0	55.9

Source : Household enumeration

Table 35-A Schooling pattern of Bahurupia children
villages (6-15 yrs)

schooling pattern	trad.		B	trans.		non-trad.		Total G	chil- dren
	boys	girls		G	B	G	B		
<u>enrolled</u>									
Pre-primary	3	2	2	3	2	0	7	10	17
Primary	35	4	14	1	33	4	82	9	91
%								92.8	19.8 56.5
Secondary	4	-	2	-	2	-	8	-	8
%								14.0	8.6

Note : Children who are attending pre-primary (balwadis)
are over aged and belong to primary age group.

Table 35-B Schooling problems of Bahurupias children
villages (6-15 yrs)

schooling problem	trad		transit		non-trad		Total		chil- dren
	boy	girl	B	G	B	G	B	G	
<u>dropouts in</u>									
Primary	10	13	-	10	1	2	11	25	36
Secondary	2	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	3
Never schooled	30	54	7	19	7	14	44	87	131

6-15 yrs		<u>Boys girls children</u>		
Out of school children		56	113	169
(incl. dropouts)		%	36.3	85.6 59.0

Table 36 Over-age and under-age school admissions
in primary school

type of admission	slums		villages		total
	boys	girls	boys	girls	
Over-age	31	18	62	13	124
Under-age	9	1	2	-	12

Source : Household enumeration

Table 37 Families with school age children
and schooling problems

	Slums N= 136	villages N= 225
No. of families having children (6-15 yrs)	99 (72.8)	149 (66.2)
No. of families with schooling problems of their children	89 (65.4)	81 (36.0)

Table 38 Parents opinion about schooling

schooling issues cum suggestions	slums (10) Villages (11)	
	No. of parents responses	
1. Financial problems -	7	9
2. Old parents asked children to work	3	4
3. Need incentives - - -	7	8
4. School should be near their settlement -	7	2
5. No guidance at school and home	4	5
6. Hostel good when parents move out	4	5
7. Need govt. school as it is not costly -	8	8
8. Need special tutition as school teaching is not sufficient -	4	4

Table 39 Schooling issues with Regular children

schooling issues cum suggestions	<u>Students' opinion</u>	
	slum (5)	villages (10)
1. No movement problem	4	8
2. Need incentives to us	0	10
3. Motivating parents -	5	10
4. Need tuition/ special guidance -	5	10
5. No financial problem	4	8
6. Regular attendance	4	8
7. Subjects easy - -	2	8
8. Teachers not interested	3	6
9. Distant school - -	3	4
10. A few get incentives -	5	10

Table 40 Reasons for absenteeism

Reasons	<u>parents opinion</u>	
	slum(5)	villages (5)
1. Govt. school far away	5	3
2. Movement of families	2	2
3. Family member sick	2	-
4. Domestic work -	2	1

Table 41 Stagnation among children

Reasons	Students' opinion	
	slums N= 3	villages N= 7
- Subjects difficult -	3	6
- Financial problem -	2	7
- Movement of families and domestic work	2	5
- Failed in 7th class	1	2

Table 42 School dropouts in children

Reasons	Student opinion	
	slum N= 5	villages N= 15
- Parents have no interest; high expenses for schools	5	13
- Teachers not interested in teaching; waste time; subjects difficult	2	10
- Even after education we cannot get jobs --	4	5
- parents have no interest; no nearby government school	5	4
- Movement of families; child has no interest; busy with domestic work	3	5
- Admission not given due to over-age	3	2

Table 43 Child Labour among Bahurupias (6-15 yr)

		Trad		transit		non-trad		Total		child- dren
		boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	
<u>villages</u>										
No	25	41	10	21	4	5	39	67	106	
%	37.9	62.1	32.3	67.7	44.4	55.6	36.8	63.2	62.4	
% of total children	-	-	-	-	-	-	25.3	50.8	37.0	
<u>Slums</u>										
No	15	13	8	10	7	11	30	34	64	
%	53.6	46.4	28.6	71.4	38.9	61.1	46.9	53.1	37.6	
% of total children	-	-	-	-	-	-	21.6	27.9	24.5	
A.P. state 1993	-	-	-	-	-	-	58.0	42.0	50.0	

Table 44 Age and child labour among Bahurupias (6-15 yr)

Age(yr)	slums			villages			total		chil- dren	%
	boys	girls	total	boys	girls	total	B	G		
6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7.	-	-	-	2	1	3	2	1	3	1.8
88	2	1	3	2	4	6	4	5	9	5.3
9	3	2	5	3	5	8	6	7	13	7.6
10	3	3	6	4	5	9	7	8	15	8.8
111	3	4	7	4	9	13	7	13	20	11.8
12	4	6	10	4	9	13	8	15	23	13.5
13	3	4	7	5	11	16	8	15	23	13.5
15	9	8	17	10	15	25	19	23	42	24.3
Total	30	34	64	39	67	106	69	101	170	
	46.9	53.1	36.8	63.2			40.6	59.4		

Table 45 Number of families having working children

No. of working children/ family	trad.	trans.	non- trad.	total families	
				No	%
villages					
1	39	25	5	69	79.3
2	12	3	2	17	19.6
3	1	-	-	1	1.1
Total	52	28	7	87	100.0
	59.7	32.3	8.0		
Slums					
1	17	14	5	36	73.5
2	4	2	5	11	22.4
3	1	-	1	2	4.1
Total	22	16	11	49	100.0
	44.9	32.7	22.4		

Table 46 Education status among working children

education status	villages		slums		total		chil- dren
	boy	girls	boy	girls	boy	girls	
Illiterate	28	67	20	31	48	98	146
%	71.8	100.0	66.7	91.2	69.6	97.2	85.9
literate	4	-	2	-	6	-	6
%	10.2		6.7		8.7		3.5
Primary	4	-	8	1	12	1	13
%	10.2		26.6	2.9	17.4	0.9	7.6
6 & 7 class	2	-	-	2	2	2	4
%	5.1	-	-	5.9	2.9	1.9	2.4
8 & 9 class	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
%	2.7				1.4		0.6
Total	39	67	30	34	69	101	170

Table 47 Education level of child workers, 1981 in AP.

Education status	Male (%)		Female (%)	
	rural	urban	rural	urban
Illiterate	85.6	70.0	93.7	88.4
Literate	5.6	9.0	2.5	4.0
Primary	-	7.8	3.5	6.3
Middle	-	1.0	0.3	1.3

Source : Child labour in Andhra Pradesh, 1993, p 25,
Min. of Labour, Govt. of A.P. & UNICEF